

CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PAPERS

(Papers contributed to the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay)

BY

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To

THE SACRED MEMORY

of

THE LATE Mr. DAMODAR GORDHANDAS SUKHADWALLA, AS A HUMBLE TOKEN

of

MY APPRECIATION OF HIS NOBLE GIFT

of

RUPEES ONE LAC

to

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,



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PRETACE.

In this Volume, Le Best all my papers, published from time to time, in the Journal of the K. B. Cama Oriental Institute. Most of the a were read in the premises of the Institute, either before the Veriliabilith in Khal Karnari Mar, lii, which most there, ar, before the institute itself. One of these, wir, that "A few Boses on Anguetii Du Perrente own copy of his Zend Access, L'Oursies de Zenseite, recently discovered in Country tous read before the Boundary Branch of the Boyal Access.

The right aring of these papers gives the pleasure for various reverse. I led the Persure of anyoning for long the friendship of Mr. K. R. Caray in who e honorir the K. R. Cara Oriental Institute has been founded. His friend hip had in vired me in his lifetime and his piece memory imputes the even now, Again, I have the pleasure of being as sented with the In titute from its very laurelyten. After working for a number of years in the Committee formed at the Memorial meeting held in Mr. Came's bon ur, at the Pramp Cowasia In titute on 8th December 1949, under the Presidency of the then Governor of Bombay Sir George Clycke (non-Lord Sydenham), I have been accociated with it in various expecties. I am one of its Trustees and a member of the Domitive Committee from the very beginning. After the departure from Bomley of Rev. Dr. Mackichan who was its fir ! President, I had the pleasure of being in the chair for one war and five months from 2nd December 1919 to 2nd May 1921. Since 1921, I have been acting as its Honorary Secretary and I have the ratiofaction to know that since my as oriation with it as Secretary I have collected a good sum for the Institute. I beg to thank all the ladies and gentlemen who have kindly responded to my appeals for membership and funds. I beg to thank the Executive Committee for all the help that it has given me in my Secretaryship, and I cannot sufficient. ly thank its President, Mr. Muncherji P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retired), for all the advice and guidance that he has been pleased to give me from time to time. He prefers to work behind the cartain and is a valuable asset of this Institute. Under all these pleasant circumstances, and with all the above associations, it gives me much pleasure, as said above, to publish this collection of papers that have appeared in the Journal of the Institute.

X PREFACE.

It gives me pleasure also to associate this publication with the name of the late Mr. Damodar Gordhandas Sukhadwalla, who, by kindly giving a munificent sum of Rupees one lac, facilitated and hastened the work of the foundation of the Institute. Mr. Sukhadwalla was a self-made man and he made the best use possible of what little wealth he had by God's grace acquired. There are several libraries founded by him in Bombay and elsewhere; and to all of them, keeping himself in the back-ground, he gave the names of other great and good public men, who had been useful to Bombay in various ways.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

211, Pilot Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay, 28th July 1928.

AN OLD AVESTA-PAZEND—SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT OF THE SAROSH-HADOKHT, AND ITS WRITER.

T.

The manuscript under notice is dated 1064 Yazdazardi (1695 A. C.) and belongs to Mr. Burjorji Ardeshir Entee, ex-Professor of Persian at the Bhownagar College. At my request, he has kindly presented it to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. It is a well-preserved manuscript, written on good old paper. Its length is 9½ inches, breadth 6½ inches, thickness 3/16 of an inch. It has 24 folios, not marked by the original writer, but, somebody has recently figured them in Gujarati, wrongly from the left to the right, instead of from the right to the left. I have recently numbered the pages in English figures commencing from the right.

It bears the following Persian colophon at the end on the 47th page, the next page containing stray verses in Persian in a different hand, written not in any regular order, but haphazard.

نمام شد سروش یشت ها دوخت بروز فرخ دیپمهر ایزد و بماه مبارک و بهن اکشاسفند و بکالا میمنت او زیرون و در سال مانوس یکهزار و شصت و چهار از شابان شالا یزدجرد شهریار از ملوک ایران زمین یزدان کام باد راقم العروف هیربه زاده هیربه رستم هیربه خورشیه هیربه اسپندیار هیربه رستم ساکن قصبه فرخنده نوساری و این سروش یشت ها دوخت با معنی در بندر مبارک سورت تصریر یافت مرکم خواند یا آموزد این الحقو را بخوبی یاد آرد

نبشته من ندانم تا که خوانه ن منم بیشک بدیرم این بهاند Just over the colophon, written crosswise, runs the following line, repeating the personal name of the writer:—

رسدم دو این نوشدي بیشک شدي بهشتي رسدي ز رالا زشدي

TRANSLATION.

(This) Sarosh Yasht Hâdokht is finished on the auspicious day (roz) Depm her Yazad, and in the auspicious month (mah) Vahman (Bahmhn) Amshasfand, and in the auspicious time (gâh) Auzira van, and in the auspicious year one thousand

and sixty and four from Emperor Yazdajard Shehryar of the Kings of the land of Persia. May it be according to God's will. The writer of these words (is) Haêrbad Zâdeh Haêrbad Rustam, Haêrbad Khurshid, Haêrbad Aspandyâr, Hairbad Rustam, an inhabitant of the fortunate town of Naosari. And this Sarosh Yasht Hadokht with its meaning has been written in the fortunate port of Surat. Whoever reads or learns (from this) may remember with goodness this humble person.

I do not know who will read this writing. I have no doubt that I will die, but this (writing or this reader) will live.

Rustam! You, wrote this. There is no doubt, you have (thereby) gone to Paradise. You have saved yourself from the path of evil.

II.

The writer Ervad Rustam Khurshid is the Rustam Khurshid Aspandyâr, who, in 1670 had written to Persia, asking for replies to a number of questions on religious matters¹ and whose questions and replies are known as Rustam Khurshed Aspandyar's Revayet.² In the reply from Persia, he is addressed as a Dastur. He was a well-known member of the clergy of Naosari. We find his name as that of one of the signatories of a document, passed by the Naosari clergy to the laity, dated 1687 A. D., permitting to the latter a freedom of choice in the selection of their family priests.³

¹ Parsi Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 16.

² K. R. Cama Memorial Vol., p. 174.

³ Parsi Prakâsh Vol., p. \$47. This document of 1687 throws some side-light on the Mahomedan rule over Naosari at this time. In case of a possible breach of the terms of the agreement, the clergy bind themselves to give, as penalty, Rs. 400 to the divân i.c., to the treasury of the ruling Powers, and, in addition, to present 50 maunds of oil to the Mahomedan Masjid of the place. It is at times complained that some Parsis of the last century occasionally took superstitious vows to present offerings to Mahomedan and Christian places of worship. One may say, that the practice may possibly have originated from cases like the above. When the people saw that the clergy offered oil to Mahomedan mosques as a penalty for, or in expiation of, their faults, they followed their example and gave offerings to these places of worship. The fact, that the clergy gave the offerings under compulsion according to the terms of an agreement made with their Mahomedan rulers, in whose courts the agreements had to be enforced, may have been forgotten. What was, at one time, an expiation for a kind of state penalty, was latterly extended ignorantly to social or religious penalties.

AN OLD AVESTA-PAZEND-SANSKRIT MS. This Rivâyet of Rustam Khurshid Aspandyâr is referred to the Darah Hormwadwâr's Rivâvet at the and Rivad This Rivayet of Rustam Knursma Aspanayar is referred to Manockji Rustamji Unwala's Rivayet at the end. (Ervad thoroin. Lithographed text Vol. II, pp. 475-590). We read therein:

برشات که بدریه زاده بدریه رستم این خورشیه بن اسفنه یار و سی برشات که بدریه زاده بدریه رستم این خورهاه سال اور بزار و سی برشات که برای آذر ساه فرخ خورهاه سال اور بزار و سی زوشته بدوه بنا ریخ یوم پای نوشته شه (.17- 15 از 17) درشت فرستاه بوه پاسخ ورشت

The questions which Herbad-Zâdeh Herbad Rustam, son of Khurshed, son of Asfandyâr, had written (and) had sent on the date, the holy day Azar, the auspicious month Khurdad, year hoon thousand thinks and sight (1022) have been thinks one thousand and thirty and eight (1038), have been (thus) replied to.

The date and the place of the reply are given as follows: من میں میں دور دیا میں میں میں میں میں میں میں میں میں اور سام کومان فیروزگر مالا فرخ لوی در شہر کرمان بقاریخ روز دیا دیا الاول سند ۱۸۰۱ بجری در شهر کرمان فارمنی تصویر شد شهر ربیع الاول سند

(Ibid, p. 480, 1. 2.) eleal, an ingi i.e., Written on the auspicious day Daêpdin auspicious month Daê qadimi (ancient), year 1039 Parsi, Hijri month Written in the nity of Kerman. Rabi'-ul-awal year 1081. Written in the city of Kerman.

The method of the colophons of old Parsi manuscripts is, to a certain extent, as it were, a counter-part or copy of the nathonal of the Dihanha I or profess of the Afringane which method of the Dibâchê 1 were, a counter-part or copy of the contains the following:—

or preface of the Afringâns, which

- 1. The name of the town where the liturgical service of the 'Afringân', is performed.
- 2. The time (gâh), and the day, at and on which it is performed.

I The Persian word dibâchê is made up of "dibâ" a rich kind of stuff mean "a small dibâ or rich cloth." The Preface of a book, which is a date of the book, the name of the mean, "a small diba or rich cloth." The Preface of a book, which place of its Dublication, the Durdose for which it is written, the name of the name o gives the name of the writer, the date of the book, the name of the place of its publication, the purpose for which it is written, the name of the purpose bidding it is written, the name of the principal place of its publication, the purpose for which it is written, the name of or rich part of stuff (dibâ) of the book. Hence its name dibâchê.

- 3. The name of the person, in whose honour or memory it is performed.
- 4. The name of the person, at whose direction (farmâyashnê) it is pe formed.

The colophons of old Parsi manuscripts also generally give all these. But they differs from the "Dibaché" of the Afringans in this, that they generally come at the end and not in the beginning. In this they follow another method.

The recital of the roz (day), the mâh (month) and even the gâh (one of the five Zoroastrian periods of the day) in the colophons of Parsi manuscripts. is, as it were, a counterpart of the prayer-formula of "Roz nek-nâm, roz pâk-nâm," lecited by the Parsees in their Nyâishes, Yashts, etc., wherein the day, the month and the time of the day when the prayers are recited are mentioned. Again, just as the prayer-formulas come at the end of prayers, so, the colophons come at the end of manuscripts. They served to some limited extent, the purpose of the title-pages of modern books, but generally occurred at the end, or sometimes in the middle of a book.

IV.

Now coming to the manuscript itself, we find that it is Avesta—Pahlavi—Sanskrit Sarosh Hâdokht Yasht. The late Ervad Sheriârjee Dadabhâi Bharucha, who had, at the instance of the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Fund and Properties, prepared a series of seven parts of the Sanskrit writings on the subject of the Parsi religion, five of which have been published, has included the Sanskrit of this Yasht in his Part I Khorde Avesta—Arthah. In the preparation of his Sanskrit text, he had access to the following old manuscripts:—

1. An old Manuscript (E. M. U.) belonging to the late Ervad Manockjee R. Unwala, dated roz 12, Mah 1. Samvant 1760 (A. C. 1703), and written by the well-known Dastur, Dastur Darab Pahlan of Naosari. Ervad Sheriarjee speaks of its Sanscrit as "defective and incorrect" (Introduction p. IX).

¹ One must remember, that the very derivation of the word gives an idea of something at the end. Colophon was one of the 12 cities of Ionia. It possessed a good cavalry which was generally kept in reserve to be employed at the end. Some say, that it was the characteristic of the city, that whenever in union with other sister cities, it went to war, it was the last to send its army to the field. Hence the meaning of the word, as something coming at the end.

2. Another old manuscript belonging to Ervad Manockjee R. Unwalla (E. M. U.2) written in about 1808, Samvant (A. C. 1751).

Ervad Sherierjee while referring to this manuscript in his note (No. 285) says "This Sanskrit of the Sarosh Yasht-i Hadoh t is found only in one manuscript. It seems to be the attempt of some unknown incompetent person, not Nerioseng himself, for it betrays in many places gross ignorance of Avests, Pahlavi and Sanskrit" (Notes p. 15). While writing this note. Ervad Sheriarjee seems to have forgotten that he himself has referred to a second manuscript (E. M. U.) on p. IX. The present Manuscript then is the third manuscript of the Sanskrit Sarosh Hadokht Yasht, that has come to our notice. While the above two manuscripts, referred to by Ervad Sheriarjec, are dated 1703 and 1751 respectively the one under notice is dated 1695, i.e., written about eight years before the first of these two. So it is a valuable acquisition. I leave it to Sanskrit scholars to determine whether its Sanskrit is better than that of the texts of E. M. U.12 given by Ervad Sheriarjee in his Part I.

I conclude, by thanking my friend Mr. Burjorjee Ardeshir Entee for complying with my request to present it to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.

AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE KITÂB-I DARÛN YASHT.

[A paper read before the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnâris Mandli, on 24th June 1921.]

Mr. Jamsetjee Edalji Saklatwâlâ has recently, at my request, presented to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute an old manuscript bearing the above title. It is about 9½ inches in length, 6 inches in breadth and a little over an inch and a half in thickness. It has 176 folios with 15 lines to a page. It is written in Avesta characters with the ritual in Gujarâti, written in an inverted way, i.e., the manuscript is turned upside down when the Gujarati portion is written. The colophon in Avesta characters on folio 171b gives the date as roz Goâd, mâh Daê, sna (year) Pârshi 1119, and the writer's name as Ervad Farâm Ervad Khurshed Ervad Aspandyâr Ushtâ Baêherâm Frâmroz Suratiâ. The colophon runs thus:—

Translation.—This book of Darun Yasten ¹ was completed (on) roz Goâd, mâh Daê, Parsi year one thousand one hundred and nineteen. I wrote this—I, the servant ² of religion, humble thinker of good, Ervad Frâm, Ervad Khurshed, Ervad Aspendyâr, ushtâ Baeherâm, Frâmroz ³ Suratiâ.

¹ The letter 'va' between this and the preceding word is an error.

² The last letter & 10 is unnecessarily separated from band.

³ The word is unnecessarily divided into Fram and roz.

The Persian colophon in Avesta characters is preceded by a Gujrati colophon which is to be read from down below upwards (f. 172 a). It reads thus:—

સંવત ૧૮૦૬ નાં વરખે રાજ ગામ્યાદ માહા દેએ ^૧ સરાવણ ૬ સૂદ સનીસર તા. એ પુસ્તક બાજ ધરવાતણ સમાપત. માેબેદ ક્રામ એ. ખુરશેદ અસપંદીઆર બેહેરામ ક્રામરાજ અજ નસલ માેવદ હમજીઆર એરવદ રામીઆ. એ પુસ્તક સમાપ્ત.

એ કરામ ખુરસદછએ રવાએતમાંથી લખુઊં છે તેના ઉતારા ઉતા-રિએા છે. જેવું દીઠું તેવું લખીઊં છે. યુક પઠી હુએ તાે ભાજજો.

These colophons give the date of completion, but a statement in the very beginning in Persian, written in Avesta characters gives the date of its commencement as roz 15, mah 9, year 1119. We read:—

الهداريم. ومرسكو المرادي المرادي ومرسان مرادي المرسود ومرادي المرادي المرادي ومرسان المرادي المرادي المرادي ومرسان المرادي ومرادي ومرادي

We thus see, that it took the scribe one month and seven days to complete this book, which he here calls "Kitâb Darun Yast" and which he, at the end, calls "Kitâb-i Darun Yasten" and which he, in the Gujrâti colophon at the end, calls પુરતકે ખાજ પુરવા તથું. The Indian date of the colophon corresponding to the Parsi date roz Goâd, mâh Deh, 1119 A.Y. is Saturday, Shrâvan 6 (?) Sud, 1806. We see from the dates, that the Manuscript is about 170 years old.

The writer does not appear from his colophons and other

The Scribe. Writings to be a very intelligent person.

His orthography is not correct. He seems
to be more of an ordinary than an intelligent copyist. We do
not find any particulars about him in the Parsee Prakâsh.
So, he does not seem to be a known man. But his father

¹ After this word there is a letter which I do not understand.

Ervad Khurshed Aspendyâr Behrâm Frâmroz, may be the Mobad Khurshedji Aspandyâr of Surat whose name we find in a document, dated Hijri 27 Shâbân 1154, corresponding to 28th October, 1741, wherein the Naosari priests residing in Surat file a complaint against the Sanjânâ Mobads who had gone to stay at Surat from Naosari, to escape from the plundering excursions of the Mahratha freebooters. We read in the Parsi Prakâsh (Vol. I, p. 856, under date 28th October 1741):—

"તા. ૨૭ મી શાયાન ૧૧૫૪ હીજરી.

આજ દીતે સરતમાં વસનારા નવસારીના લગરીઆ માે ખેદા શારાખછ નશરવાનજ ઢાટા......વગેરેએ નખાખ તેગખેગ ખાનની દરભારમાં સુરતીઆ માેખેદા મનાચેહરજ ખુરશેદજ.....રતનજ અસપંદીઆરજ કુકાછ અસપંદીઆરછ. **ખુરશેદ**જ અસ**પંદીઆર…**..વગેરેપર દાવેા ક્રીધા હતા કે નવસારી કસભાના સંજાણ માેબેદા તથા પારસી જજમાના જેઓએ વેપાર ધ'ધાસર અથવા લુટારાએોનાં તાેકાનને લીધે સુરતમાં આવી વતન પકડ્યું છે તેઓને ત્યાંના લગન, ખુશાલી તથા ગમીના રસ-માનાં સઘળાં કામા કરવાના કદીમુલ અઇઆંમથી અમારા તાલકા છે. અતે તે બાબેના પરવાંના પણ હાથમાં રાખીએચ, તે છતાં સુરત બંદર-વાસી માેંગેદા તે અમારી મેહેનતમાં જસ્તીથી દાખલ થાય છે. ઉપરથી નવાય સાહેથે ચારેઆસી પ્રગણાંના ફાજદાર મીરજાં અયદ્રલ ખેગને એ બાખેની તેહ*કીક કરવાને કરમાવીઆ*થી તેણે સરતવાસી માેળેન દોના હક રદ કીધા, અને તેઓ પાસે આજની તેરીએ એક લેખ લખાવી આપ્યા કે ઉપલા સંજાણા માે ખેદા તથા સર્વ પાતાના જજમાનાનાં કામે કરવાના હક ભગરીઆ માર્બેદાના છે. તેમાં અમારા કસા દાવા દાખલ નથી."1

¹ Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives this information to us on the authority of a Gujarati pamphlet called " انجاء من النجاء الن

The three signatories in the above quoted document who bear their father's name as Aspandyûrji or Aspandyûr seem to be three brothers. This document is dated, as said above, 1741 A.C., while the manuscript of Ervad Frâm under examination is dated 1750 A.C. (1119 A.Y.), i.e., about 9 years later. So, it is possible that this Ervad Farâm was the son of the above Ervad Khurshedji of the document of 1741 A.C. We must note, that though Ervad Farâm gives his father's name in two places in the colophons as Khorshed, in one place, where he refers to the Rivûyets, he gives it as Khorshedji as given in the document.

The writer does not give in his colophon the name of the town in which he wrote the Ms. as many others do. But from the fact that he calls himself Suratia at the end of his pedigree, if we take the above mentioned identification of the family as probably correct, we may say that the book was written in Surat.

The writer speaks, at the end of his Gujarati colophon, of writing his manuscript on the authority of the Rivâyets. Again, in the body of the text also, he says, here and there, that he has given a particular Bâj according to the authorities of particular Rivâyets. We find the following authorities referred to:—

1. Ardeshir of Persia.

2. Kâmdin Shâpûr. He is said to have brought from Persia the ritual of the Bâj of roz Aspandâd mâh Farvardin. We read on folio 108a: શ્રી ઇરાનમાંદાં મ્પે ખાજ ધરે છે. દેરવદ કામદીને સાપુર રવામ્પેત લાવે આછે તે મધે લખેઉ છે. મ્પે ખાજ અલખુ ધર્વી. This shows that the rituals of some Bâjs were introduced here in the time of Kâmdin Shâpûr, the date of whose Rivâyet is 928 A. Y. (1558-59 A. C.).

The method of numbering the folios is peculiar. We find

A peculiar Method of numbering the folios. The hundreds are, besides the way to which we are familiar, marked with an extra dot. For example the numbers 110, 111, 112, 113, etc., are not marked as such but are marked as 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, etc. (Vide the Index of the Ms. at the end).

¹ Perhaps for એ ખૂલું i.c., alone.

Thus, an extra cypher is used to denote the hundreds, which, if not properly understood, may lead the readers to read thousands for hundreds. Students of mathematics may throw some light on the subject of this procedure. At present, according to our present method in writing figures about millions, the occasional practice is to put a (') between the hundreds, the thousands and the millions. For example, 12,345,679. Here, the hundreds and the thousands and the millions, are separated by a comma-liké mark. The Persian figuring in this manuscript seems to have some object like this. The second cypher seems to have been intended to show hundreds.

The Ms. treats of 77 subjects, out of which 65 speak of the The subjects ritual of 65 kinds of Bâj. The following treated are mostly Bâjs draw our special attention.

We read of a Bâj on F. 110, b: રાજ અરસેસંગ માહા ક્રઅરદીન અહું દન ખાજ વરી આવાની ગુજરાતમાં ા. Bāj Variāvāni. આવપછી મારાચ્યેઆ તેની,બાજ અરદાક્રેરા ધરવી,

i.e., Roz Arshisang, mah Fravardin. On this day is the anniversary of those who were killed at Variâv after (our) coming to Gujarât. The Bâj of that (day), to be celebrated by the Bâj of Ardâfarosh." What is meant to be said is, that in the ritual of the Bâj to commemorate the event of the massacre at Variâv, the Ardâfaresh Bâj may be recited and celebrated. 1

Now, what is the event that is referred to here? We know from the Kisseh-ī Sanjân, that Variâv in the Surat district was one of the places, where the Parsees had dispersed gradually from Sanjân, their first colony in India on their emigration from Persia after the Arab Conquest. 2

کسان در جانب بریار رفتند
 ۱۶۰۰ کس نیز جابا ثیر تفتند

I In the તમામ વ્યવસા (the whole of the Avesta) Vol. II, Published in Gujarati characters by Behedin Dadabhoy Cawasji in 1240 A. Y. (1871 A. C.) under the title of વસ્તાઓ ઇપ્યસ્તા વાજદા (the Avesta of the celebration of the Bâjs), this Bâj is given on p. 120 as બાજ વરી-આવમાં મારે આ ગૂઓલાઓની (Bâj of those killed in Variav.) But the publisher seems to connect it erroneously with the fight with the army of Mahmud Begada at the sack of Sanjan.

i.c., several went towards Bariav (Variav). All persons went to (different) places (Vide my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis," p. 14.)

(a) The Bombay Gazetteer and (b) the History of Naosari by Mr. S. M. Desai refer to the event of the massacre.

Mr. Kharshedji Nusserwanji Seervai and Khan Bahadur

(a) Parsee contributors of the Gazetteer.

Bomanji Byramji Patel, the authors of the article on "Gujarât Parsees" in the Bombay Gazetteer, thus refer to the event.

"According to one account, the Variâv settlement was as old as the settlement at Sanjân. (Lord (1620) in Churchill's voyages, VI, 329). These settlers enraged the Rajput chief of Ratanpur by refusing to pay tribute and defeating a body of troops sent to enforce the order. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpur the Parsi men were absent at a feast out of the limit of Variâv but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and opposed the troops valiantly. When about to obtain a victory, the helmet of one of the femalewarriors, dropped and exposed her dishevelled hair. On this the Ratanpur troops rallied and made a desperate assault, and the women preferring death to dishonour heroicly leapt into the Tapti which runs through the village of Variâv and drowned themselves. The day of this disaster (the 25th day of the first month Farvardin) is still commemorated at Surat by special religious ceremonies. The year is unknown."

Mr. Sorabji Mancherji Desai in his Tavârikh-i Naosari (The History of Naosari 1897, pp. 353-55) thus refers to the event and says that the event of the massacre at Variâv is celebrated even now, at a certain place near Malesar at Naosari on roz 25, mah 1 of every year.

" વરિયાવ એહિદીનાનું પરલ. "

જે પ્રમાણે લરૂચનાં પારસીઓ " હોમાછ બાજ" કરે છે, તથા નવસારીનાં માટે ક્લ્યેનાં પારસીઓ સંકટમાંથી બચવાથી મેહેરછ રાણાની તથા ખરશેદછ દેશાઈની બાજ કરે છે, તથા પુજ્ય લાવથી નવસારીમાં ખાદાતા ઘણા કુવામાં, ખાદતાં, ખરશેદજ દેશાઈ કે મેહેરછ રાણાંનાં નાંમથી ખાદાલી મારે છે, તેજ પ્રમાણે નવસારીનાં મલેશર ક્લ્યેના તમામ બહેદીનોનાં જીના વખતથી " વરિયાવા બહેદીનાનાં પરભ" તે નામે એક તહેવાર પારસી રોજ ૨૫ માં માહ ૧ લા તે દીતે ઘણા માન સાથ

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, p. 186. Fide the separate publication of the authors, "Gujarat Parsis," p. 4 n.

પાળવામાં આવે છે. તેઓ વરિયાવ ખહેદીનાની ખાજ, જશન વિગેરે ક્રિયાએો કરતાં આવેલાં છે. ધણાં મલેશરાંએો પાતાને ધર છુટી છુટી બાજ કરે છે, અને જેમનાથી બનતું નથી, તેઓ અનજીમનમાં સામેલ થઈ ભાગ લે છે. લુનશીકુઇનાં પૂર્વ ભાગમાં " દરોરા ટેક્ડી " ને નામે ઓળખાતી જગા આગળ, "ધ'ળાર્યા વડ " તે નામે મલેશરનાં ખહેદી-તાની એક જગા આવેલી છે. જગા અગાઉ તા મલેશર ક્લ્યેની મેહે-રીલાે મળવાનું અને ભેગા મળવાનું એક મુખ્ય મઠક હતું**.** આજે પણ નવાં વરસની હમાજીર લેવા. માટે ત્યાં તેઓ ભેગા મલે છે. કાંઇપણ ઠરાવ કરવાના હાય તા ત્યાં જઇને ભેગા મલતા. ત્યાંજ આજે પણ ઉપલું પરભ ધામધુમથી તેઓ પાલે છે. એ જગા મલેશરની અનજીમનની રાસની છે અને ધાસ ઉગવાની તે જગા છે. ત્યાં એક ગંજાવર વડતું ઝાડ છે. જેની નીચે મલેશરવાળા સાહેમાં પાતાનાં જાહેર ઘંખારનાં જશના અને ખાનીપીની કરતા હાવાથી તે વડને " ધંખાર્યા વડ " કહે છે. એ જગા આશરે ૧૨ વીંધાં જેટલી વિશાળ છે. અને તેનાં ઉપર અતરેનાં મુસલમાન ભાઈએ એક વાર દાવાે ઉથાવ્યાે હતાે કે માેગલઈ વખ-તથી એ જગા તેઓની છે. પરંતુ મલેશરવાળાઓએ ભાય બીદી ને તે પાતાના કદામથા ચાલતા આવેલા સાધ કરા હતા. તેજ પ્રમાણે ગાયકવાડ સરકારે પણ તેનાં ઉપર ધારાની લાગત લેવાના ઠરાવ કર્યો હતા, તેમાં પણ મલેશરવાળાએા કાવ્યા હતા અને ધર્માદાય જગા લેખે સરકારનાં ધારામાંથી તેને ખચાવી હતી. આ પરભને દહાડે નાહનાં માેટાં તમામ મલેશર કૃલ્યેનાં આશરે ૫૦૦ માણસા ત્યાં ભેગાં મળે છે. ત્યાં પ્રથમ તા આક્રમાન જશન વગેરે ક્રિયાએ કરી દરૂન અને રાંધેલા સ્વાદીસ્ત વાલની ચાસની કરી દારૂ પીતે ખરાં અંતઃકરણથી મરહુમ વરિયાવા ખહેદીનાેની યાદ કરવામાં આવતી હતી. પણ હાલ દાર પીવાનાે ચાલ ખ'ધ પાડી, માત્ર ચાસની કરવામાં આવે છે. આગળ તા મલેશરમાં ઉધરાષ્ટું કરી એ ધામધુમ કરવામાં આવતી હતી. પણ હવે તેા મલે-શરનાં અનજીમનનાં કંડમાંથી તેવી ક્રિયા વિગેરે થાય છે. એ પરભ પાળવા માટે એવી તવારીખ જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે જ્યારે પ્રથમ કહી ગયા તેમ ઇરાંનથી પારસીએા હિંદુસ્તાનમાં નાહસી આવ્યાં પછી, તેઓને માટા જઠા નવસારી અને તેની આસપાસ આવી વરયા હતા, ત્યારે તેમાં કામરેજ તાલુકાનાં વરિયાવ નામે એક કસભાંમાં પણ તે પારસીઓના

એક જે જાઈ વરવા હતા. કામરેજ તાલકામાં ભીલ લોકાની મુખ્ય વસતી હોવાથી વારમવાર વરિયાવનાં આ ખેડુત થઇ પડેલા પારસીઓને તેઓ લુટતા અને હેરાંન કરતા. એકવાર તહેવારને દીને કહે છે કે, એ વરિયાવ બહેદીના વાડી વંતરે જઈ ખાંની પીનીમાં મશગલ થઈ મસ્ત પડેલા હતા તે તકના લાભ લઈ ભીલ લાકા ગાંમમાં પેઠા. બહાદુર પારસીઓ ગાંમથી દુર વાડીઓમાં ગએલા હેાવાથી લાચારીથી તેમની ખહાદર એારતા મુખ ઉપર મુખવતા મુકી અને ખરુખા ખાંધી. બીલાની સામે એાસ્તવારીથી લડી, એટલે ભીલા પ્રથમતા હતી ગયા, પણ એક સ્ત્રીના ખરખા નિકળી પડવાથી ખીન મુછાલા મરદા જોઈ ભીલા બાલ્યા, કે " રાંડનાં માર્યા ફાક ગયા." તે ઉપરથી તેઓને હિમત આવીને પાછા લહ્યા અને જેટલાંને મરાયાં તેટલાંને માર્યા. અને અસખાબ લટી લઈ ગયા. એટલુંજ નહિ. પણ ખેતરામાં મસ્ત પડેલા પારસીઓમાં પણ કતલ ચલાવી. જેટલા બચ્યા તેટલા નાહસીને નવસારીમાં આવી ભરાયા. અને જેમનાં વંશા પૈકીનાં ધર્ણા કુટુંએા અત્રે મલેશરમા વરતાં કહેવાય છે. તેઓ આ પરભ સામાન્ય તહેવાર લેખે પાળે છે: દેમકે દાણ, કયારે કતલ થયા તેની ચાકસાઈ ન થવાથી એકજ તહે-વારમાં ખધાંના ખાજ દરૂન કરે છે. "

The doubt as to the day referred to by Mr. Desai is settled by this old Ms., which also gives the day as roz 25 mah 1, but the year is not known. A few details of the massacre differ in the two versions I have given above, but the main fact remains, that there was a fight between the Parsees of Variâv and the adjoining people, in which, in the end, the Parsees were killed and had to run away and leave the country. The fact, that an old book of ritual written about 160 years ago refers to the event, and the fact that the anniversary of the event is still celebrated by the Parsees of Naosari, where the remnants had fled and settled, prove that an event of that kind had really happened.

The ritual of another bâj refers to another event. The bâj is 2. A Bâj referring to be celebrated on roz Âdar mâh Ardibeheto a Jâtrâ or a sht to commemorate the pilgrimage (MAI) pilgrimage by a by a vadâ (ASI) i.e., a leader. We read as king.

રાજ આદર માહ અરદીખેહેરત ગુજરાતમાં આવેઆ પછી વડાએ આત્રાબેહેરામની જાત્રા કીધી એણ દન બાજ બાજ આદર રાજની ધરવી.

In the Index, this Baj is spoken of simply as બાજ આદરી આનના પરભની. It is not said whose pilgrimage is meant, and who this વડા or leader is.

Now what is this event? One may say that the event referred to in the ritual is that, which is narrated by Rao Saheb Mahipatram Rupram in his book named Sadhra jasang (pp. 110). I give the story below.¹

" ગુજરેશ્વરે (સિદ્ધરાજે) મુંખાઈ સુધી ઉત્તર કાકનના મુલક ગુજરાત જોડે ભેલી દીધા જે સાષ્ટીખેટમાં જ્યારું થાનું ખેસાડ્યું. ત્યાંથી વધારે ઉત્તરમાં આવતાં સંજાનમાં અને આસપાસનાં ગામામાં તેણે નવી જાતનાં લાક જાયાં. દમન, વલસાડ, ગણદેવી, વાંસડા, ધરમપુર અને માંડવીનાં રાજા ગુર્જરેશ્વરને લેટ સુકવા આવ્યા તે વારે માટું દરખાર ભરવામાં ચ્યાવ્યું અને મહારાજાએ એ માંડલીક રાજા, ક્ષકાર, માટા જગીરદાર દેશાઈ વગેરેને સરપાએા આપ્યા. તે વેળા સંજાનના રાજાએ દસ્તર મનીંચેર નામે એ નવા લાેકના વડાને મહારાજની હજારમાં આંણી એાલ-ખાબ્યા. દરતરજીએ મહારાજાને ખાળા ભરી સુનૈયાની ભેઠ સુકી, તે ગુર્જરપટીએ તેને સાલજોડી, માતીની માળા, સુંદર ઘાડા વગેરેના સર-પાવ આપ્યા. એ દરતુર જોડે મહારાજને કેટલીક એકાંત મુલાકાત થઈ તેમાં તેણે પારસી લાેકને પાતાના દેશ તજી આ દેશમાં શા વાસ્તે આવવું પડ્યું તેનાં કારણ કહ્યાં. મનીચેરે પારસી રાજ્યના ઇતિહાસ વર્ણ૦યા. તે સિહરાજને મતારંજ અને તેના છેલ્લા ભાગ ખેદકારક લાગ્યા. મુસલમાંન ધર્મની ઉત્પનતી, તેનું ઉતાવળે પ્રસરવું, ઇરાનનાં ધર્ણા ખરા લાેકનું મુસલમાન થવું, થાેડાનું પાતાનાં ધરભાર તાડી, વછકા, સગા બ્હાલાં વિગેરે તમામ પાછળ મુકી બહુ બહુ દુ:ખ વેઠી અતરે નાહસી આવવું, અહિં આવ્યા પછી ઘણાંક વરસ લગી તેમને પડેલી અડચના અને મુસીખત આદીકના હેવાલ સાંભળી મહારાજાનાં ઉદાર મનમાં દયા આવી. દરતુરજીના હાથ સાહી જયસીંહ દેવે કહ્યું કે આપણે પાછા સ્વદેશ

¹ જુએા રા. સા. મહીપતરામ રૂપરામના "સ'ધરાજેસ'ગ " પાના ૧૧ થી ૧૧૩ સુધા.

જવાની ઈંગ્રેઇ હાય તેા. આપણે અનજીમનને મેળવી સર્વના વિચાર KITÂB-I-DARÛN YASHT पुछी लह मते कर्तु. वशे ती, मने भूल र इरेजे. माहराश जनश तेटली महह हुं आपीश. हरतरू इहें पंथायतने मेलनी से नात पुछ-वानी कुरूर नथी. क्रेम हमारा आ हेशमां वसनारा आर्या साव छ ड कोने पेटे ही हरे। नथा होता ते पे।तानां इंड्णी ड अत्रीमांथा ते होि छित्रने, लांनेकरने हें धी उन होिं हत्त युत्र इरी लेखे तेम हमाई राक्य પાયમાલ થ્યું, હમારા યુજદેઝું પાદશાહ પડ્યો, હમારા માટા અમાર (डमराव, पहेंसवान, माणेहा वजेरेना नास थया, ने हमारा प्यारा દેશની ખરાળી થઈ ત્યારે હમે તે છોડી, હમારા આતશને લઈ અતરે स्था ने स्थानेक हमारी हैश डेयी. सिंह साथ है. थ्या. धर ભાંગી પડ્યું, त्यारे नवुं थांधा तेमां वास उर्या तो पछा पाछा માં કેરમાં રહેવા શાવાસ્તે જઈ એ ? ત્યાં હમે સખે જીવા શામાએ નહિ. ત્યાં હમારા પાક ધમુ પાળી શકોએ નહિ. અહિંજ આપ મહારાજા-ધીરાજને અને આપના માંડલીક રાજાની મહેરળાની હમારા ઉપર

लरी रहे अने [©]हथे। गमां हमें भील हैशी लेडिनी लेडे ही सथी सामेस थ्रध्ये येती हमारी पुरी धरण हे. हमारा देश हहियागी, पराइमी, अने परापश्चरा छे, ७मे ओडस पेटा नथा. ७मे अटहा नथा. जीन હरडते आ हेशमां वसवानी, ^{GE4म} डरवा हेवानी, कभीन वेयाती सेवानी, धन ने हमारा पूर्वनेनी पांड हीन पांसवानी रेन आपी ત્ર્યાજ સુધી હમારૂં રક્ષણ કર્યું છે તેલું કર્યા કરા, અને હમે વાખાના मार्था परहेशा ७ पर ह्या इरी छ तेशा न्या राणा ने हुं था इरी ७ मने स्वहेशी, ने आभनी सेवा जलवनारी भूका अधो। हम हम उत्त हमन છે. આમ ખાલતાં દરવરત મુખ દયામનું થયું અને તેની આંખમાંથી ^આસું _{વહ્યાં.}

सिद्धराके तेने धीरक आपी उहां तमे अने तमारी डेाम હमारा દેશમાં નિભ[િ]ય રહેા. તમારા ગામના રાજાથી માહેરા જાનવામાં આવ્યું છે કે પારસી લોક રહી ચાલનાં, ભલાં, મહેનતુ, હશીયાર, તેજવાલાં, भग्रत छे. तनता शिसाह न डरतां सारी रीते वर्ते छे. ये नाना हु राक्ष थये। छुं. छं तभाइ रक्षण इरीश याने माहरी जीक रैयतमां याने

તમારામાં કંઈ ભેદ ગણીશ નહિં આટલુંજ નહિ પણ તમારામાંથી જે યાગ્ય જણાશે તેમને માહરી સેનામાં અને મારી દરખારમાં નાકરી આપીશ કારભારીઓમાં દાખલ કરીશ, અને માટા એથા અને જગીરા યાગ્યતા પ્રમાણે આપીશ. " બીજે દિવસે સહવારે સંનજાનના માટા આતશપહે-રામનાં દર્શન મહારાજે કર્યા અને સાંજે મુખ્ય પારસી શ્રહસ્થાને દર-ખારમાં બાલાવી મલ્યા. એ વેળા તેમની સમક્ષ દરતુર મનીચેરને પાલખી તથા છડીદાર આપી તેનાં ખરચને માટે જમીન આપી. પારસીઓ એથી બહુ ખુશી થયા ને કેટલાક ગુજ રપતીની સેવા કરવાને તેની જોડે પાટણ ગયા.

The king Gurjareshvar or Siddhraj or Jayasinha referred to in the above story is the king Siddha Raj Jaisinha of Anhilwad, whose capital was at Patan and who died in 1143 A. C. His full name was Siddha Raj Jaisinha. One may take it that this Jatra of our book of ritual is the darshan (that) of the Mahârâja to the Fire-temple of Sanjan referred to above. In four grants of the Silhara Dynasty, 1 we find the Parsi colony of Sanjan referred to. The Anjuman of that colony is specially referred to. In one grant, it is spoken of as the Khorâsân Mandli. So, the Parsee colony of Sanjan, being well-known in the 11th Century, it is quite natural, that Siddha Raj, during his visit of the Konkan, where his predecessors, the rulers of Anhilwad, had established their sway some years before, was attracted by the Parsee colony, and being thus attracted, paid a visit to their fire-temple. Now the question is, on what authority has Rao Saheb Mahipatram described this story. The subject is worth being looked into. Mr. Sorabji Mancherji Desai, who quotes Rao Saheb Mahipatram in his Tavârikh (History) of Naosari (p. 24), doubts the truth of this story (p. 24 1. 14). Râo Saheb Mahipatram's book is a work of imagination based on some historical traditions here and there. He has given as an appendix in his book, the historical materials round which he has woven his stories which, to some extent are works of his imagination.2 But, unfortunately, in this appendix we do not find any reference

¹ Vide my Paper on Sanjan J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI pp. 4-12. Vide my Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan p. 16.

² One may be led to doubt the truth of this story, because Mr. Mahipatram in the latter part of his story connects the name of Siddhraj with his friend Mr. S. S. Bengali's name. But it seems that he may have come across historical materials somewhere.

to any historical source for this story.1 This book of ritual, if my identification is true and if Rao Saheb Mahipatram's story is based on some good authority, supports the story. Failing this story, one is tempted to connect this event of the Bâj to the visit and help of Rajâ Durgan Singhji, the Râjâ of Mandvi, to the Fire-temple when the Sacred fire was taken to Udvada. Mr. W. Ramsay thus refers to this event in the Indian Antiquary (1872, Vol. I., p. 213) on the authority of the old Dastur of Udvaca at the time. "After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Mandvi, Durgan Singhji, then residing in his fort at Pârdi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea-coast for a residence. At Udvada was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence, and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A Sanad was given them conferring certain privileges and immunities. This is said to have been in the Samyat year 1799 (A. D. 1742)." According to the सुरत मांडियनं हेरी। राज्य, published in 1890 by the Gujarat Vernacular Society under the Editorship of Rahemankhan Kâlcklân Pathan and Vajerâm Prânshankar Upâdhyâya, this Râjâ Durgan Singhji was born in 1695 A. D. He came to the throne in 1707 and died in 1772.3

Out of these two stories, the second seems to be more probable and as one to which the Bâj in question refers. It is possible that the Raja, who as a Hindu, held Agni, the god presiding over fire, in respect, may have paid a visit to the house or temple in which the Sacred Parsi fire was temporarily located at or near Bulsâr.

The Baj of the Jashan, now ordinarily known as Minô 3 The Bâj of Mino Mâreshpand Jashan (ধানা মাই સাখাই বু জয়ান), is celebrated to commemorate an event han. • connected with the name of Zoroaster.

¹ Since writing this I made inquiries, through my friend, Mr. S. S. Mehta from the author's son, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, but he writes in his letter, dated 31st October 1921, to Mr. Mehta: "I have not been able to ascertain on what materials my father based the incidents." However I give the whole story, as it is for some students to trace its source if any.

² I am indebted for this reference to the Indian Antiquary, to my friend Mr. Rustamji Nusservanji Munshi, whose articles in the issues of the Jam-e-Jamshed of May 1921 on the subject of the Udvada Fire-temple first drew my attention to the story of this Raja.

According to Zarthosht-nâmeh, it was on this day that Zoroaster performed an Âfringân and gave, for châshni or ceremonial eating, four things, which were offered and consecrated in the Âfringan, to four of his great disciples, who, by virtue of that communion, got endowed with some extraordinary gifts. This is referred to in the ritual thus: अ जाज मार्ड ४ व्याद योज पेहेदी घट એક ता मणे, जीजुं ता हुद, त्रीजुं हुद, बाथुं अनार. अ येगारे योज मेही जाज घरनी. माना मधे यह.

This subject is referred to in the Persian Zarthûsht-nâmeh of Zarthusht Behrâm Pazdu.² Thus, the ritual of the Bâj of this Jashan day of roz Maresfend mah Aspandarmad enjoins, that in the celebration of the Baj of that day, four things are necessary. 1 Wine (maê) 2 Flower 3 Milk and 4 Pomegranate. These were the four things spoken of as given by Zoroaster on this day to the above four esteemed disciples.

There are two bajs in this Ms. which are spoken of as those of Thanak or Thanak (21145). (a) One of these Bajs is spoken of as Sri Thanak (41145). (a) One of these Bajs is spoken of as Sri Thanak (41145) and all i.e., Baj to celebrate Sri Tahanak) (Vide Index of the Ms.). The word thanak 21145 in Gujarati means a kind of altar on which offerings are arranged. It seems that this Baj was recited with the offering of an animal like goat, sheep, deer, and any other animal (gospand), the flesh of which can be lawfully eaten. The head of the animal was the proper part to offer, and failing that, the left ear or jaw or tongue. In the Hom Yasht (Yaçna IX 14), we read of an offering of a tongue (hizva) and left eye (hôyûmcha dôithrem.)

The ritual says :--

ખાજ સીરી³ થાનક⁴ ખાકરી⁵ અથવા મેસ⁶ અથવા હરણ અથવા જે ગાસપંદ ખાવા હલાલ હાંએ તેહેની ખાજ હામ એજતની ઉપર લખી છે તે ધરે. જું ⁷ સર ⁸ નહી હુએ તુ તેહેનું ડાહાવા કાન અને ડાવા ગેલુ ⁹ અન¹⁰ છખ માંડે ખાજ ધરે. ઇઆદ હામ ઇજદની કોજે. (f. 106 b).

^{1 &}quot; માનામધ" 'for' " in silence" or in other word in baj. (બાજમાં).

² Vide Pastur Peshotan Byramji Sanjana's Translation (1864), p. 153, Vide Le Livre de Zoroastro (Zaratusht Nâma) par Frederic Rosenberg, Text pp. 60-62. Translation pp. 58-61.

³ For શ્રી Shri. 4 The Index gives અનેક 5 For બધરી, a shegout. 6 P. mish. 7 જા for જો and g for તો 8 P. Sar. 9 Perhaps for ગ્રાયુ throat. Then jaw, Vide Home Yasht. 10 for અને

i.c., "Baj Shri Thânak. They may celebrate the Baj in honour of Haoma, as given above, over a she-goat or sheep or deer or any animal (gospand) which is permissible to be eaten. If the head (of the animal) is not available, then they may place (before them for consecration) its (i.e., the animal's) left ear and left throat and tongue and recite baj. This shall be done with the mention of the Haoma Yazad."

(b) When the preceding Thanak Baj refers to the offering of animals, the second refers to that of birds (પખેર pakhêru f. 106). The ritual says: ચાનક પખેરની બાજ ગાસ ^૧ એજદની ઉપ્ર^૨ લખી છે તેહમાં ચાનક પખેરની પેહેરે બાજ ધરે ઈઆદ ગાસ રાજની કરે.

We see from this statement that when the first bâj is in honour of Haoma, this is in honour of Gosh (Dravâsp) who is presiding over animal creation.

The Parsees of India have been using several Hindu words for some of their ceremonies. The word थानड (थाएड) is one of these. It is used in some of their old documents. For example, in a document, dated roz 11 mah 11, Samvat 1801 (28th August 1745), referred to in the Parsi Prakâsh (Vol. I p. 858), we read of the મેહરંગાનના થાનક i.e., the Thânak of Meherangân. The author, Mr. Bomanj Patel, in a foot note thus explains the word:— ભરચ મધે મેહરંગાનના જરાનને દીને જરચારતીઓ પોતાના ઘર મને જરાનની માક્ક મીજલસ કરી ખારશેદ મેહેરની કેટલીક નીઆએશા કરાવવાની ચાલ હતા, જેને મેહરંગાનની થાનક કહેતા હતા.

It seems, that the above bâjs are for occasions like the Jashans of Meherangân, when some permissible animals or birds were killed as offerings and consecrated.

5 Baj of Agréras. This Baj is rarely celebrated now. The ritual says:—

ખાજ અગરેરસનોં. ખાજ અરદા કરૂઅસ ધરે. ઇઆદ અરદા કરૂઅસ ખેરેસાદ. નામ ચસતી અનાસ રૂઆન રૂઆની અગરહે એવીરથવે નરસ અશુતે એદર ઇઆદ ખાદ અનુસ રૂઆન રૂઆની. ક્રમાએસની ક્લણ ખેરેસાદ ખાજ અરદા કરૂઅસ પ્રી પુરણ ધરે.

¹ For भेश्स.

This Baj refers to an historic event of the reign of Minochehre when Agraeratha (Agreras of the Shah-nameh, Mohl I p. 42, p. 224-28), the brother of Afrasiab, disliking his brother's improper conduct, secretly helped the Iranians. His name is therefore commemorated in the cannonical list of the Fravardin Yasht (Vide my Dictionary of the Avestaic proper names, pp. 7-10.)

It is so called, because the star Vanant (Vega)¹ is remembered therein. It is recited on the New Year's day. Even now a ritual is observed in some temples and is known as alla siddl, i.e., to cut the Vanot, wherein a large sacred bread (Darun) is ceremonially cut by the priest.

The ritual, as given in our Ms., runs thus:

ભાજ સરવ (?) પરભની લખી છે. રાજ શ્રી હારમજદ માહ કર્ચ્યન દીન એણે દીવસ વનત ભાજ ધરીએ ભાજ ધરતા જમણા હાથમાં વાંસનું ધાકર્^ર (?) સાહે³ જમના હાથપર પથ્ર માંડે તેપર ઠાેકનું પઠે. માન મધ્ધે⁸ ઇઆદ કીજે (f. 106)

The ritual speaks of striking a bamboo stick over a stone. This is intended to drive away evil powers that may be the result of some evil stars. This reminds us of the Vanant Yasht, wherein there is also the ritual of clapping hands to symbolize the driving away of evils.

The present day ritual is described in the Gujarati "Tamâm Avesta" by Mr. Dadabhoy Kavasji (1240 A.Y. Part II p. 181). It is celebrated in a Fire-temple and the celebrant strikes a wooden stick over the stone slab in the Yazashnagâh. He continues to strike during a greater part of the recital of the Baj with the Khshnuman of the star Vanant. In the end, he cuts

¹ Vide for this identification Mr. M. P. Kharegat's article in the Sir J. Z. Madressa Jubilee Volume, pp. 116-158.

² ધાર્ક means a sack of cotton or cloth. Here it seems to mean stick. 3 i.e. પકડે. 4 i.e. મનમંત્રે.

⁵ i.e., Here is written the Bâj of all (?) parabhs (festivals). Roz Shri Ormazd máh Farvardin. On this day shall be recited Vanat bâj. On celebrating this bâj, (the priest) may hold in his right hand (a bundle of) sticks of bamboo. A stone shall be placed on the right hand. He may recite while striking (the stick on it i.e., the stone). The recital shall be mental, i.e., in a suppressed tone.

two out of the four daruns or sacred breads consecrated by him during the recital of the baj, and eats the portions that are cut. The south-west and the north-west parts of the breads are cut and swallowed.

This baj, to be recited on Roz 2 mah 11, was celebrated both during the day and during the night.

7. The Bâj of the Bahmaniân festival.

If it is recited during the day a particular recital may be made. લીર્પએશામ પહીંએ (વિર્પએશામ યજઅતે નામ &c.) If at night, લીર્પએશામ નહીં પઢે આપત નામના પઢે.

This Baj is given here on the authority of a Rivayat. એ રેવાયત પાયામાં છે જે દસ્ત્ર અરદેશરનાં દસખતની છે.

The Baj on the Jashan day of Roz Farvardin mah Aspandad s. Bâj of Moktatems.

S. Bâj of Moktatems.

is spoken of as બાજ માકતાવમાની, perhaps because it is the Farvardin Roz preceding the Muktâd Holidays. The word Muktâd is spoken of as ''મેરાવ" on f. 128 a. From what is said here, (on folio 128 a), we find that at the time when the Ms. was written, the proper Muktad days were taken to begin from Roz Astâd and not from Ashisang as at present. We read રાજ આરતાદ માહા અસપંદારમદ માતાવ માંડીઆ પછી દન પાંચ લગી અરદા કરૂઅસ બાજ ધરે.

From what is said of the consecration of the Siâv in the Muktad Holidays, it appears that the celebration of these days, was not confined to the memory of the dead but also to the living. It describes some difference between the ceremonies for the living and for the dead during these days.

The Bâj of Hapta Ameshâspand is given on the authority 9. The Bâj of of Dastur Kamdin Khambâyati શ્રી ધરાનની Hapta Ameshâs રીતે ધરે દરતુર કામદીન ખમાગ્યતી લાવેઆ છે pand. તે રવાએતમાં છે. તે જોઇ લખીઉ છે.

It is said, that this baj shall not be recited during the following 8 days: Meher, Srosh, Farvardin, Râm, Anerân, Depâder, Deptmeher, Depdin and during the month of Deh. No reason is given.

The Khshnuman of this Baj run thus: "pathâm khâst êtem Zarenumata sura vispashâ ardâ farosh be resâd." It seems, that this Baj was recited when one started on a journey (pathâm lit. road).

There is one thing in the rituals referred to in this Ms., which draws our special attention. The present practice tells us, that Fire is indispensably necessary in the recital of all Bâjs. But it appears from this Ms., that it was not so; and that a Bâj was, and may be, recited with or without Fire. When Fire is present, then the ordinary recital of tava âtarsh, i.c., "Thee Fire," may be observed, but when the Bâj is recited without the fire the word tava, i.e., Thee, addressed to Fire when present, may be omitted (f. 33 a, f. 117, f134 a). In the case of some Bâjs, it is specially mentioned that analytical and after and a fire-vase.

I will conclude my short notice of this book of the ritual of bâjs with a list of some peculiarly written Gujarati words found in the Gujarati portion of the ritual.

- 1: वगत for वीगत.
- 2. યાગ , પગ.
- 3. ઘડું ,, ઘડા (pot).
- " લુડા નવાથ્ ઘડા ભરી અહનાવે " i.e. may bring (અહનાવું for લાવવું) the pot (લોટા) freshly (lit newly) filled up.
- 4. ઇસુ for એમ. ઇસુ પહે i.e. એમ પહે. Compare ઇસુ with Hindustani અઇસા, French "ainsi." We also find simply સુ (su) (f-63a હાય પાવ કરતાં સું પાંધો i.e., એમ અથવા નીચે પ્રમાણે પાંધો. Also cf. Fr. suivant) for ઇસુ. Compare Eng., so.'
- 5. હ'દાલુ for હીધાલા. It is also spoken of as તુરગઢી or ત્રગઢી e.g. પથરની ત્રગંઢી (f, 62 b) ઉપર તા. થાલી ઉપર મેઢે.
 - 6. સાહી for પકડી e.g. " બરશમદાન જમણા હાથમાં સાંહી"
- 7. સરસુ for થી. છુરી સરસુ i.e. છુરીથી or છુરી સાથે, ''આપે સરસી" i.e. આપ (પાણી) સાથે.
 - 8. સરસી for સરખી e.g. " એસમબુઈ સરસી માંડે "
 - 9. માનમધ્ય for મનમાં
- 10. મુખ મંખાલવું i.e. to clean the mouth by removing particles of food.
 - 11 રો for છે, "લખીરો" for લખી છે.

- 12. अधीमत for untouched. छी to touch.
- 13. Via for Vig metal.
- 14. નરમલ for clean. છરી ઘસી નરમલ કરે.
- 15. viorqueg for modern Gonza to clean.
- 16. ઓ ખરત for Avesta અયા ખરાસ્ત (metal).
- 17. अगर for छेडा (Sans. अम Av. agra).
- 18. અપરગ (f. 65 b) · ? for લાયક, વાજબી.
 જા વડી ખુબ હુએ ને બરસમ બાંધે તુ બાજ ૯ લગી અપરગ.
- 19. чн for чин (f. 65 b. l. 12). Perhaps u is dropped by mistake.

In this Ms., as in some other mss., the Gujarati portion is written in an inverse order, i.e., from down The inverse order below towards the top. So, when, while of the Gujarati reading the Avesta portion, you come Writing. to the ritual portion given in Gujarati, you have to turn the book. The explanation given for this procedure is, that it is adopted, because the Avesta is written from right to left and Gujarati from left to right. This seems to be a plausible reason, but this does not seem to me to be the proper reason for this clumsy procedure which gives one a good deal of trouble. I think, the explanation given to me some time ago, by an elderly priest is the proper one. It is this: In the recital of the Vendidad, the manuscript, from which the Zaoti or the principal celebrant reads it, is placed on a wooden stand spoken of as age vehel, which we see also in Mahomedan mosques for the Korans. These stands are on the right of the Joti. These manuscripts contain the ritual directions in Gujarati. Now, it is the province of the other priest, the Râthwi, to attend to all these directions and to be ready from time to time, for the ritual observances. Therefore the ritual directions in Gujarati, which he has to read from time to time, are written in the inverse order, so that he may, when required, go before the stand and read the ritual from the side opposite to that to which the Zaoti directs his face while reading from the manuscript. Thus, he may do his part without disturbing the Zoti. If the Gujarati ritual also was written in the order in which the Avesta is written, he should now and then lift the book from the wooden stand to read it, a proceeding which would often disturb the Zaoti.

APPENDIX.

After writing the above, I happened to read in the Jam-i-Jamshed, a report from Naosari, describing a Jashan ceremony celebrated there as usual, but with a better celat, on roz 25 mah 1 of this year (1291 A. Y.). In the report, a disâ-pothi i.e., a manuscript containing the dates (disa) of the deaths of the Parsee laymen of Malesar at Naosari, was referred to, as containing a reference to the above Variâv affair. It was said to be 200 years old. I sent for the manuscript to examine it and I am indebted to Mr. Mervanji Karkaria for kindly sending it to me for inspection. The manuscript is thus spoken of in the very beginning.

સ્વસ્ટા શ્રી મલેસર ફ્લીમાનાં બેહેદીનનાં મખતાતમાંની મેં દીશાપાથી લખવામાંદી. શંવત ૧૭૯૩ નાં વર્ષ્ય રોજ ૨૯ માહા ર મ્યદીબેસ. i.e.) This Disha-pothi of the holy souls of the Behedins (laymen, of the auspicious Malesar falia was begun to be written on roz 29 mah Ardibehs(ht) Samvat 1793.

Thus, it is (Samvat 1978—1793—) 185 years old. At first, the names of all the deceased layren who died before the above year, i.e., 1793 have been written by the writer in one hand. The entries of death are given in the consecutive order of days of the Parsee year, i.e., at first on roz Hormazd mah Farvardin, then roz Bahman, then roz Ardibehsl.t, and so on, till the 30th day Aneran of the month Farvardin. The days are marked as roz 1, roz 2, roz 3, &c. Then similar entries are made for the next month Ardibehsht, and so on, till the last twelveth month Aspandad. The years of death are added after some names.

Subsequently, others have gone on adding names in their own hands between two names of the same day of death here and there. As far as my hasty inspection goes, the earliest year of death is Samvant 1747 (folio 5b last but 4 lines roz 10 mah 1) and the latest year of death is Samvant 1850 (f. 48 roz 5 mah 6). So it seems that names were added to those on the list for about (1850-1793=) 57 years. Then the addition seems to have ceased.

The Ms. has 98 folios written in the form of Indian account books, i.e., the folios are to be turned not from side to side as we ordinarily do, but from below, upwards. The Variâv massacre event is referred to under the entries of roz 25 mah 1 (folio 11 line 3) as રામરાત વર્શભાષા મહેશન, i.e. (the date of the death of) all Variâv Behedins.

We thus see, that this Ms. which takes a note of the Variav event is about 13 years older than our Ms. of Kitab-i-Darun Yastan under examination.

The Variar entry is the very first under the entries of roz 25 mah 1. This shows that being a very old event, older than that of the deaths of the other persons named, the writer than that of the deaths of the other persons named, the writer the year because perhaps being an old event in his time also, its date was not known to him also, I It must be long before Samvat 1747, the earlist date in the Ms.

I After examining the proof for the above, and before it sees to the service a still older Disa-Dothi containing a note of the Unrise Press, I saw a still older Disa-pothi containing a note of the Variav and Was written by Jamshedii Press, I saw a still older Disa-pothi containing a note of the Variav Thus it is 196 vests old.

Washedji Mervanji Charna. Thus it is 106 years old.

TWO MINIATURES, ON THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PARSIS, IN TWO MSS. OF THE GUJARATI VIRÂF-NÂMEH,

MSS. OF THE PARIS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE (Nos. 75 AND 76 FONDS INDIEN).

In the first number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (pp. 71-74), we find an English translation by Mr. L. Bogdanov, Introduction. of a Report in Russian by the well-known Russian scholar, Mr. K. A. Inostrantsev, entitled "The Parsi Funeral Ceremony, as illustrated in the Gujarati versions of the Book of Arta Virâf."2 The author says in the beginning: "The study of the Parsi ritual is considerably hindered by the circumstance, that we are unable to have a clear outline of the course of its evolution. From the ancient traditions of the Avesta, have to pass over without transition to very late compendia on religious traditions (the so-called 'rivâyets') and to the contemporary ritual of Parsiism. The difficulty in constructing in detail the picture of the development and the modification of the Parsi ritual is explained by the absence of the necessary materials. That general thesis can be fully applied also to the special instance of the study of those ceremonies of Parsiism which have been, most probably from their peculiar character, attracting most attention,—the funeral ceremonies. Although we possess a very considerable amount of varied information in the literatures of Asiatic and European peoples relative to the Parsi funeral for the period of the many centuries of the existence of the religion of Zoroaster, as well as certain buildings once upon a time erected by the followers of that religion, by which the funeral ceremonies are to a certain extent explained, yet, a series of details of the same is far from being

¹ This paper was read before the Jarthoshti Din ni Khol karnâri Mandli of Bombay at its sitting of 17th March 1923, under the title of "Notes on Mr. K. A. Inostrantsev's report on 'The Parsi Funeral Ceremony, as illustrated in the Gujarati versions of the book of Artâ Virâf."

Therefore, we thought it of some interest to introduce for the purpose of explaining those details some materials, as yet unpublished; we have in view the illustrations in the Gujarati versions of the book of Arta Virâf of the Parsi funeral ceremony. followed my description in my Paper on "The Funeral In explaining the details, Mr. Inostrantsev has Ceremonies of the Parsis; their Origin and Explanation."1 As for the illustrations, he has followed two miniatures in two manuscripts of the Gujarati Viraf-nameh in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Nos. 75 and 76, Fonds Indien). Concluding his paper, he says: "Thus, it can be seen, that the Gujarati miniatures give us a representation of the Parsi funeral ceremony in the XVIII centuries, very similar to the contemporary ritual of Parsiism."

The object of this paper is to show, that the miniatures, found in the two manuscripts of the Bibliothéque Nationale, and which one may find also in some other similar manuscripts of the versions in India or elsewhere, are not the faithful representations of the ceremonies observed in the 17th and 18th centuries, as misunderstood by our author. They are, as it Were, a mixture of the picture of the ceremonies as observed in those centuries and of the picture, imagined by the author of the versions or by the painters of the miniatures, as existing in the times of Darius and Alexander the Great. Before I proceed to the object proper of my paper, I beg to say in passing, that there is not such a great gap of materials between the ancient traditions of the Avesta; and "the very late compendia on religious traditions (the so-called 'rivâyets')," as our author seems to think. Various Pahlavi Writings, including the Pahlavi commentaries of the Vendidad, and some Persian Writings like those of the Sad-dar, often referred to by the writers of the Rivâyets, fill up the gap.

I will treat my subject under two heads. I. Examination of the two manuscripts of the Virâf-nâmeh referred to by Mr. Inostrantsev and of other MSS. of the kind, and H. Examination of the contents of the preliminary part of the Gujarati Virâf-nameh in order to show that the miniature of the funeral referred to by Mr. Inostrantsev refers to the funeral of Dara (Darius III, Darius Codomanus) and not to that of the Parsees of the 17th or 18th century.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp.

I.

Mr. Inostrantsev refers to two Gujarati manuscripts of the Tho two Manuscripts referred to by Mr Inostrant- Sov. Virâf-nâmeh in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Nos. 75 and 76 (Fonds Indien). They are the two manuscripts referred to by Mr. Blochet, as XLVII and XLVIII in his consecutive order of numbers in his Catalogue.

Anquetil Du Perron has thus referred to one of them (No. 76)2

"XIV Viraf-namah En Indien du Guzarate.

"Volume in-4° de 288 pag. très-bien écrit, avec beaucoup de figures.

"Cette Traduction du Viraf-namah a été faite sur le Perfan, par le Destour Roustoum Assa, il y a soixante-dix à quatrevingts ans. Le Volume commence par ces mots Indous:

Ketab Viraf namaï lekisê.

Il finit par ceux ci:

Kitabtchè leki tê."

We will, at first, examine, who the real author of the Gujarati version of the Viraf-Namah is. The Author of it Rustam Asa, as said by Anguetil and the Guiarati verrepeated by M. Blochet in his catalogue or sion. Rustam Peshotan? Anquetil speaks of this Gujarati translation of Ardâ Virâf as having been made by Dastur Rustam about 70 or 80 years before his time, i.e., 70 or 80 years before his visit to Surat (May 1758 to 1761 A. C.), where he must have taken down the note or memo of the date of the Gujarati version. So, we find, that the year-70 or 80 years beforecomes to some year between 1680 and 1690. Now, we know of no Dastur Rustam Âsâ of this time, as the author of a versified Gujarati Viraf-nameh. Perhaps, one may think, that Anquetil may have mistaken the name of a copyist Dastur Rustam for that of the author. But, we find no mention of any Dastur of the name of Rustam Asa at this period in the literature of the time. In fact, in the Index of well-known

¹ Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (1900,) p. 75.

² Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome Premier, Seconde Partie, Notices XIV, p. XXXV.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PARSIS and even of partially known Parsees of the time, given by Mr. B. B. Patel in his Parsee Prakash, we find no Dastur or even a known Mobed or layman of that name in the 17th or 18th century 1 So, I think, that Anquetil has perhaps either misread or misunderstood the name for the name of Dastur misread or misunderstood the name for the name of Dastur Rustam Peshotan. We know of a learned priest of the time, (Hormazdyâr), as the author of a Gujarati Virâf-nâmeh. We find the following particulars about him from various courses. find the following particulars about him from various sources:

- (1) We find his name as one of the writers of a letter from Surat to Persia in the matter of the new Tower of Silence, founded by Nanabhoy Punjiah written in 1668 A. C.
- (2) We find his name as Dastur Rustam Peshotan in a Writing from Persia, dated Roz 26 Mah 10 Kadmi 1039 Yazdazardi (July 1670); which is known as Dastur Asfandyar's
- (3) We know him as the writer in Gujarati verse of a mirac hic name as Freed Zarthosht-nameh. Therein, he gives his name as Ervad Rand the date as Roy Romandin Mah Khardad 1044 Vardagardi. and the date as Roz Farvardin Mah Khordad 1044 Yazdazardi

I I have inquired from Ervad Mâhiyâr Nowrojee Kutar who is fami-liar with the names of old Dasturs of Surat, Naosari and elsewhere. He also, in his reply dated 7th March 1923, says, that he knows of no Har with the names of old Dasturs of Surat, Naosari and elsewhere. Dastur of the name of Rustam Asâ.

1923, says, that he knows of no Dastur of the name of Rustam Asâ.

² Parsi Prakash, I. 16 (vide Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat by Ervad Maneckjee R. Unwala, with my Introduction, Vol. I, p. 103).

हव डवतां च्ये डवे सव शूल शरशता शार. क्षेत्रवह हरतम पशीतन शत है।२मलहीव्यार क्षेत्रवह शंभीव्यार में अहं ईश्री शहराती में में भूभ हें तम भीही सवी स्थारा. च्ये सरव पत इहें ही हामनी शरत नगरीने वाश. ध्याल हगरी रान क्येड हजार बेहिल ने बेहार.

ते हांण इंडे अरहीन सारा अरहाह है। के स्मा पत सीधुं ते स्मार. Manuscript containing both Zarthosht-nameh and Siâvakheh. The whole manuscript was completed on Roz Adar Mah Avan 1221 A.Y. Maneck bin Jamshed bin Written by Mobed Jamshed bin Khorshid bin Maneck bin Behram bin Darab bin Khorshid bin Maneck bin Darab bin Sobrab bin Sobrab bin Control of Zarthosht-nameh was completed

- (4) We also know him as a writer in Gujarati verse of the Siâvakhsh-namah. He gives therein his name as Rustam Peshotan Hormazdyar, his town as Surat, and the date of the completion of the writing as Roz Hormazd, Mah Shahrivar, Samvat 1736³, i.e., about 1679 A. C.
- (5) In a letter, dated 1683, from Surat to Naosari we find his name among other signatories, but we read after his name the words & . High \$ 340H, i.e., written by the hand of Maneck Rustam. This Maneck Rustam seems to be his son, and he may have signed the letter on behalf of his father, who, perhaps, could not sign it himself owing to old age, or who, for some other reason like illness, may have directed his son to sign the document.4

on Roz Astad, Mah Meher, 1221 (Ibid, p. 100), We find this date in the Persian couplets at the end of Zarthost-nameh. In this Persian colophon he gives his name as Jamshed son of Khurshid. He gives his grand-father's name as Kaus. The Siavaksh-nameh, which follows, has colophons both in Gujarati and Persian (pp. 219-220). In the Gujarati colophons he carries on his pedigree higher than that of his grandfather. In the Persian colophon at the end (p. 220) the scribe gives the name of the place where he wrote it as Hind, in the country of Kohkan town of Kaliani. (هند باد کوه کی در قصبهٔ کلیانی) The

Zarthosht-nameli has been published by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria in the several issues of the Zarthoshti (vide its various issues from Farvardin 1273 A, Y, to Das 1275 A, Y,).

¹ આખાં દાસ એરવદ રૂસતમ પેસુતન શ્ત હાેરમજદીઆર નસલે માળેદ હાેરમજદીઆર એરવદ રામીયાર

(The Shiavakhsh-nameh edited by Ervad Tehmuras D. Anklesaria p. 2.)

- ³ સમાપુરણ ક્રીધું શ્રી સ્તરત રોહર નગરીને વાસ ^એ સીચ્યાવખરાનામુ લખી તમામ ક્રીધું ખલાસ (Ibid, p. 224)
- 3 સંવત ૧૭૩૬ વૃષ્મે ચ્યે પુસ્ત ક્રીધું શાજ મખારક માહા શેઠરેવર ને હારમેજદ રાજ રાજ હારમેજદ ને ગાહા ઠાઊઅન લીધી ચ્યેણે દંન ચ્યે શેઆવખરા ક્રીરત રામાપુરજ ક્રીધી.

In those times, the son, at times, signed on behalf of his father. For example, I have seen in the old records of the Parsee Panchâyat, Moola Feeroz, the well-known learned scholar, sign the public Resolutions of the Panchâyat or Anjuman on behalf of his father.

From all that is said above and what follows, we determine the following dates about this Dastur Rustam Peshotan:—

- 1651 A. C. The date of his Virâf-nâmeh, determined from what follows.
- 1668 , Letter to Persia in the matter of Nanabhai Punjiah's Tower of Silence.
- 1670 , Letter from Persia, wherein he is one of the addressees.
- 1675 , Wrote the Siâvakhsh-nameh.
- 1679 , Wrote his Zarthost-nameh.
- 1683 , Signed a letter to Naosari with other writers, but not with his own hand. It was signed by his son, thus indicating advanced old age.

Now, there remains another event in Dastur Rustam PeshoDastur Rustam
Peshotan's Virafnâmah. Its date.

The least important for our subject. That is the event of his writing the Gujarati
Virâf-nâmeh referred to above. We will see from what is said below, that it seems, that the date of this event precedes that of all the above named events. In this work also, he gives his name as Ervad Rustam Peshotan sut Hormazdyâr.

We do not find the author giving the date of his writing this work, as he has done in the case of his other two works, the Siavakhsh-nâmeh and the Zarthosht-nâmeh. Ervad Tehmuras Anklesaria, the editor of the Siâvakhsh-namah, gives the dates of the above two nâmehs, but not the date of

ગેમ્માંન ધેમ્માંન ચ્મે ધણા પર ધરેલાં ખારા ચ્મે પરગઢ વીરાફ કીધા શરત નગરીનિ વારા શરત નગરી માંઢાં અમ રલીઆચ્મેત મન ચ્મે પ્રાતક કીધૂ ચ્મેરવદ રશતમ પશ્રતન ચ્મેરવદ રશતમ પશ્રતન શ્રત હાેરમજદીઆર નશલે માંખેદ હાેરમજદીઆર ચ્મેરવદ રામ⊌ચ્યાર•

this Virâf-nâmeh, because he did not find it in his MS. also. This puzzled me also at first. But, I think, we can trace the date from the last line of his Virâf-nâmeh. The last line is not

P. 6 of a manuscript in my possession, presented to me by the late Ervad Jamshedji Sorabji Dastur of Naosari in June 1902. It is a copy from the original, I produce here for inspection this manuscript written in 1121 A. Y. (about 1752 A. C.). The colophon of this manuscript runs thus: રામત ૧૮૦૧ નાં વરખે ચૈતર વદ ૧૦ રાતે ઇમ્બજદજરદી ૧૧૨૧ રાજ મેનીમા મારેરાપંદ માહા મુખારક સેહરેવર અંમશાશપંદ ને દંન અરદામ્બે વીરફ તમાંમ શમાંયજ પ્રાધી.

This colophon does not give the name of the scribe, but it gives the date of its being written as Samvat 1801, Yazdazardi 1121. The owner of the manuscript, one Kuverji Kila Patel Bharucha endorses at the end in his own hand the sale of the book to Hormusji Manckiji Marolia in Samvat 1907, i. c., about 106 years after the above Samvat year of the colophon. In this endorsement, in order to distinguish the date of the sale which he gives, he says in the very beginning that the above date is that of the original manuscript. I give below his endorsement of sale:

હવે રામજવું કે ઉપર લગ્ગલા રાને અરાલ કેતાખના છે. લા• કુવરજી કાલા પટેલ ભરૂચા દાકતરની ચ્બે કેતાખ વીરાક્ર નાંમાંની હતા તે આજ દીને પારશી હાેરમજી ગુ. માણેકજી મરાેલીઆ નાેશારીનાં તહેને અમાર્ચ્ય વેચાતા આપી છે. ચ્બેપર અમારાે દાવા નહી. રાવત ૧૯૦૭ નાં મા-૧૧ રાે. ૧૩ લા. કુવરજી કાલા પટેલ ભરૂચા રાઇ.

Subsequently, the purchaser, Hormusji Maneckji, sells it with another endorsement to Nanabhai Hormusji Damania. Then the new purchaser, Nanabhai Hormusji Damania makes a note on it of the purchase and says that it was bought for Rs. 8½.

At the end of my manuscript of the Gujarati version of Dastur Rustam Peshetan, I find a rough painted picture of a girls' school with four girls standing with open books in their hands before a priest-teacher also holding an open book in his hand and sitting on a chair with a table before him. The picture bears the heading:

ખરજોરજી સારાખજી દરાતુરની અમે શખી છે. દરિકાલ માંદીચ તે.

I do not know who this Burjorji Sorabji Dastur is.

The picture gives one an idea of the dress of the Parsi girls about 50 years before our times. I remember seeing such dress in my boyhood. The word 1914 (ischol) for English 'school' and the use of a chair and table show the picture to be of comparatively recent times.

The Parsi writers of the present day are, at times, found fault with, as introducing foreign words in the Gujarati language and corrupting it. But the use of the English word 'Doctor' in the above writing of Samvat 1907 shows that if the introduction of foreign words in a language is a fault, it is a fault, not of the present parsi generation.

a thymral line of the last couplet but is a line in prose.

न्याप्यर हत्त्वरे स्थयम हता ते सभापत यहर

"There was a limit at the last millenium which is completed," I do not clearly understand the signification of this sentence. I suspended from the line being an unrhymed line that, possibly some norde suggested the date. My suspicion furned out to be true. The words 2012 (1502) written in Persian as 1.50 set give, according to the memoria technica of algad, the data when Dastur Rustam Peshotan completed his work. The words distor, i.e., end, and samipat i.e., finished led to tho sug-Postion. Taking there words for the date, the date of the work would be 1020 Yawlazardi 1 i.c. about 1651 A. C. I think, that as far as I know, that is the first instance in a Gujaroli bod written by a Parsi, of giving the date, of the writing according to the Persian Abjad process.

The date is quite pencible. We saw above that in 1037 Yazdazardi (1668 A. C.), Rustam Peshotan was a signatory in a letter to Persia. This letter was written by two brothers Kuverji Nanabhoy and Hirjee Nanabhoy, the two sons of a great man of Surat, Nanabhoy Poojia, who had built at his own expense a new Tower of Silence at Surat. So, by this time, Dastur Rustam was well-advanced in years to acquire an honourable position among his people. So, it is likely that in 1651, i.e., 17 years before this letter was written, he was sufficiently well educated to write such a book.

We find that Rustam Peshotan has referred to himself Rustam Peshoin the preliminary or introductory part tan's reference to his work. He first himself in the and then the Mazdayasni religion given praises God by God, which he says, he studied well (lit letter by letter अगाउँ आगाउँ). He then praises Zarthusht as the priest of priests, or as the teacher (guru of teachers yaive 33). He deplores that he had to live in the Kali yug (sal sia) and asks the protection of God, as he had to suffer much (आती अनिहर modern अनेह) patiently. Then, he prays for Sarasti (शरशली for Shrasvat the goddess of learning) to write his work. He then speaks

^{1 1=1+1=1+} さ=600+2=200+3=5+3=7+1=1+200 +8=5=Total 1020.

of reading the Virâf (nâmeh) before a Dastur. He then speaks of the precious Virâf-nâmehs in Persian by Zarthusht Behram and Noshirwan Behram and the Virâf-nâmeh known as Kausi Virâf (કાઉપી વીરાક્)¹. Dastur Rustam Peshotan writes as follows about this matter:—

ચ્મે વીરાક વિણા છિ મેહેલવીમાં ખરી જરથુરાત ખેહેરાંમ કરૂરા કીધી કરી. તુરોરવાંન મરજખાંની ભી છે વીરાક તે એક મન ધરી વાંચી મેં દીલ કીધું શાક્ર. કાઉશી ભી વારાક મે દીઠી છે રાહી તે રારવ જોઈ વાંચી મેં દેલમાં લહી. પરાકરત વીરાક મેં સમજીને ભાલી ચ્ચે પરગત પરાકૃરત કહુ રાંભાલી. રારવ વીરાક દસતુર આગલ ભણેચ્યા સારી અખરે અખરનાં અરથ કીધા વચારી. દરાતૂર ખરજોર આગલ ભણેચ્યા વીરાક્ તિણિ ભણાવી અરથ કરાવી મંન કીધુ સાક્ર-તે ગૂર ગને આંનીયી ભિ શરવ ભેદજ લેહેચ્યા તે ગૂર ચરણથી હું શીધ સેવક થાચ્મેચ્પાે• મ્મેક ધેઓન ધરી મે મ્મેમ ક્રીધ વીચાર એ કુરા પરાકરત પરગઢ કર શાર.2

At the end of the above passage, he says that he was a pupil if Dastur Burjor. This Dastur Burjor seems to be the well-onown Dastur Burjor Kamdin, the compiler of the Rivâyat known by his name.³ He then refers to himself as the writer kn the following verses:—

હવે ચ્મે પ્રાતક વિશુ તમ વાંચી પડજો જે તંદેઆ કરી તેહેનિ તમ કરવા દેજા ગેઆંન ધેઆંન ચ્મે ધણી પર ધરેઉ ખારા ચ્મે પરગઢ વીરાક કીધી શુરત નગરીનિ વારા

¹ This book, known as Virûf-i Kâusi (i.e., Virûf-nûmeh written by Kâus), was written in about 1533 A. C. by Kaus bin Fariborz bin Navtor, a Persian Zoroastrian from Yezd, at the desire of Maneck Changa and his son Bahman Maneck, the son and the grandson of the well known bader Changashah of Naosari (Parsi Prakash, p. 7).

[🗅] Folio 5.

² We see Burjor Kamdin's name in a letter to and from Persia, written in 1626 and 1627. We also see it with that of Ervad Rustam Persian in a letter from Persian in 1670 (Parsi Prakash I, p. 16).

<u>सुरत नगरी मांढां च्यम रसीच्याच्येत मन</u> में प्रातः भ्रष्ट म्यरवह रशतभ प्रातन म्भरवह इरातंभ परातंन यत हारभन्दी न्यार

नशत भागह है।रमकेंद्रात्यार च्येरवह रामीधियार.

It appears, that there is another Gujarati versified version Another Guja, of the Viraf-namah. I produce one for rati versified ver. Fath Versilied ver. Inspection. It has been presented to our Nation. R. R. Cama Oriental Institute by Mr. Burjor inspection. It has been presented to our P. Kumana recently, on 17th October 1921.

We find the following colophon at the end :-

भी हाहार हे।रमेल्यहनी महहया च्ये वीराई नामु तमाम रामपुराधु કરો છે. રાહી

च्ये वीराई वांभे ज्याष्ट्रं में रामतेराते साल रा.वंच ४६०४ वा वैधिराम शही र वार रवेड राज र० मा महराम शहरामा माह ६ मा इहमी न्याहर छिल्ह माह ८ मा रशमी न्यांवां छिल्ह राने १२१७ धीमालहलरही ता. १३ मी मेहें राने १८४६ मां गरेल च्ये दाने च्ये पीस समापत भाग

ચ્યે કીવાળના લખનાર માળેદાંને માળેદ नेहांगीरळ वलहे हरातुराने हरातुर शाराण्ळ ર્કમાંનાં વાસી શી શુરત નગરી.

We see from this colophon that this manuscript is about 74 years old. Now this version is not a new version from the original Persian, but it is version of the versified version of Doctor Ductor Dack of Version of Dastur Rustam Peshotan. Dastur Rustam Peshotan's version or the late Reveal of the late R is very difficult to understand. The late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, who edited Dastur Rustam's Shiavalidation of this marrian of Rington to it. It Seems that the Writer of this version of Rustam's version, finding the original version difficult to understand by ordinary readers of his time, thought it advisable to render it into simple Gujarati of his time. There are several facts which make it evident that this is a version of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's Gujarati version :-

(I) In the preliminary or introductory part the writer Rustom has done (folio 2) (Burjo Kamdin) just as Dastur Rustom has done (folio 2).

(2) The writer thus mentions Ervad Rustam, the original author, at the end (f. 128b):

આવે આજ ચ્યારોદર હાં આવશે રાહી ચ્યેરવદ ફરાતંમ હેમ હાં ધણીના શુકરાંણા કહી

Here he thanks Ervad Rustam, the original author.

(3) There are numerous verses which show that Koomânâ has followed Rustam. As an instance, I give a few from the preliminary or introductory portion,

Rustam (f. 1 b)-

ગૂરાંણ ગૂર છે જરથુરાત અમાર અમે ધરમ મારગ મિન દેખોડેએના રાાર અમે ધરમની ધણી હવે તંમ કરવી વાહાર એ કલી કાલમાં હું રિહિય તારે આધાર આખર હજારિ ધરંમ નંદેઆ ઘણી હવે રાંભાલ કરૂં તંમ સાહેખ ધણી અતી અતહિર અમ ઘણુંજ રાહીએને એમ રાખર કરીએ ખમાશુ ખમી રહીએને

Koomana f. 1 a-

પેગંમભર જરથારાત દીન લાવે આ તમાં મ એ જે હાં તમાં પરગટ કીધી આંમ પેગંમભર જરથારાતી મારગ દેખોડે એના શાર એ ધરમની હવે કરવી વાહાર આખર હજારા છે એ ધરમની તંદે આ ઘણી હવે શંભાલ કરા તમા શાહેબ ઘણી એ પાપીનું જી ઠું કેમજ શાહીએ હવે શાબ્રર્સ કરીને એ ખમણુ ખમી રહી હે.

As another instance for comparison of the language, let us take some verses after those of the account of the death of Dara at the hand of Alexander. Dastur Rustam Peshotan says (f. 23 b):

તેહેનુ મૂખ દેખી મન માર્ચ્યેગા આવી આંમ તેહેન શીશ લેઈ આપ ખુલિ મૂકેઉ ઠામ તેહેની મૂખ રચના જોઇને ચ્બેમ રહેચ્યા રાઈ આપ કપાલ કૂડીને તિણિ કાહેડેઉ લાહિ Koomana renders this as follows:

તે દારાં શાહનુ મુખ દેખી મહેઆ આવીજ આમ તાહીનુ શીરા લઈ આપ ખાલે મુકી ઉદાંમ તાહીનુ મુખ નુર જોઈ મહની દેલથી રહાે રાેઈ પાટે કપાલ કુઠીને કાહાદીઉ લાહી (ff. 9-10).

Both have given pictures, but they vary. I am not a connoisseur of art, but I think that the art, whatever it be, displayed in the older version is better than that of the later one. We also find in this later version of Koomana (f. 11 b) a very rough miniature of the funeral. But it differs from that in Peshetan's version in my manuscript and in the Paris manuscript. This seems to show that the later versifier Koomana did not attach much importance to the subject. He or his painter acted according to his fancy.

Koomana gives one picture (f. 6 b) which we do not find in the older version of Rustam Peshotan. It is given under the following red ink heading:

મ્મે સાહ શેક નદરે તલ વીખરી નાખેંમાં તેનું તખત શેક નદરનું.

i.c., The throne of Alexander from which he scattered the sesamum seeds. This subject refers to a story given by Nizami. It says, that when Alexander's messengers carried his letter to the court of Dara asking for submission, Dara gave to the messengers a ball, a bat and a box of sesamum seeds to signify that Alexander was still a boy who should better play with bat and ball than fight, and that. if he fought, he (Dara) would defeat him with an army as large in number as the sesamum seeds in the box. It is said that Alexander's courtiers, on receiving these things, tried to turn the scale upon Dara and asked Alexander to take all these as good omen. They explained that as a batsman throws a ball anywhere he likes, so he (Alexander) can show his strength anywhere in the world and conquer the world. They threw the sesamum seeds on the ground and they were soon swallowed by birds. So, Alexander would soon swallow (i.e., conquer) the country of Iran and other countries. This story is illustrated in this picture which shows Alexander throwing with an uplifted hand the seeds from a horse. We see the seeds scattered in the vicinity. Though, as said above, the author, in his heading, speaks of Alexander as sitting upon the throne, in the miniature he is represented as riding a horse.

II.

The above examination of my manuscript of the Gujarati version of the Virâf-namah by Dastur Rustam Peshotan leads us to examine and see that the miniatures referred to by Mr. Inostrantsev do not refer to a Parsi funeral of the 17th or 18th century as supposed by him.

The Persian Virâf-namahs of which Dastur Rustam gives

The Introduction of the Pahlavi and Persian Virafnamahs. a version in his work, follows generally, with some exceptions in details, the Pahlavi Virâf-namah. The Pahlavi Virâf-namah begins with a reference to Alexander, who conquered Iran and burnt its religious

and other literature in the royal archives of the Daz-i-Napisht, and says that Adarbâd Mâraspand, the Iranian Savanarola, going through an ordeal, restored to some extent the old religion. It then introduces Ardai Virâf as bringing about, by his visit to the other world, further restoration. The Persian Virâf-namah makes a further mention and that is of the name of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Iranian Renaissance after Alexander the Great. We find this in the Introductory part of the Persian prose Virâf-namah quoted and translated in the Pahlavi Virâf-namah by Drs. Hoshang and Haug (pp. XV-XIX and LXXXIV-LXXXVII). We find the same in the Persian Virâf-namah by the late Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji in his edition of the Pahlavi Virâf-namah (Pers. text pp. 1-4). Again, we find the same in the Persian Virâf-namah of Noshirwân Marzbân, given in the Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat.

The Introductory part of Dastur Rustam's Gujarati version

The Introduction of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's Gujarati Viraf-namah.

goes a little further into the past than those of the above Pahlavi and Persian Virâf-namahs. The following headings tell us what further matter he gives in his work.

- (1) $\stackrel{\sim}{ ext{-}}$ સાહ શીક નદર નવીરાંનદા પાસે કાગલ લખાવે છે $^{ ext{s}}$
- (2) ચ્યે હકીકત સાહ દારાંની લખી છે
- (3) ^{ચ્ચે} હકીકત સાંહ દારાંની લખી છે. શીક દરે સાંહ દારાં ઉપર કાગજ લખેચ્યા.

¹ Darab Hormszdyar's Rivâyat by Maneckji R. Unvala with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 331-342.

² In my copy there is a blank in the page under this heading, perhaps because the copyist found that part destroyed in the earlier manuscript from which he copied.

Here we find a miniature painting wherein a messenger presents an epistle (from Alexander) to a king sitting on his throne (Darius).

- (4) સાહ દારાંગ્યે શીકંદર ઉપર કાગળ લખેલ Here there is a similar painting to show that Alexander receives a letter from Darius.
- (5) સાહ સીકંદર લરાકર લેઇને ઇરાન જમીન આવી પોહોચે મો. Here is a painting which shows Alexander marching towards Persia with his army.
- (6) Then there is another painting with no heading as usual in red ink, to show what that part of the book refers to. But it seems that this painting represents Dara (Darius) marching with his army against Alexander.
- (7) વ્યવસાય ધોડા દારાંતા તે શીલા ધોડા રાકંદરતા છે. Here is a painting showing Dara riding on a white horse and Alexander on a black horse, both meeting on a battle-field and raising arms against one another.
- (8) RIE RIFER EIRIF PICTURE IN ACCORDANCE AND AREA STORMS. Here is a painting which shows Dara fallen on the ground and Alexander holding his head on his lap. This shows that the battle took place and Dara was killed. Alexander, out of sympathy, sitsby Dara's side, laying his head on his lap. The sympathy was more due to the fact, that Iranian tradition represented that Alexander came down from a Persian ancestry and that he was a step-brother of Dara.
- (9) શાહ દારાંને દખમે પાહાચાંડે આં, i.e., King Dara was taken to the Tower of Silence. Here comes the particular miniature which forms the subject of Mr. Inostrantsev's Report.

Dastur Rustam Reshotan simply refers in passing to the disposal of the body of Dara in the Tower of Silence in the following three couplets (f. 24 a):—

મેં રારવ ઇરાની તમ મેં શાહની કરૂ રાજાઈ મ્યવલ મનજલ તમ દાંમિ પુહુચાડૂ જાઈ શીરા મુક્રી તાંહાંથી ઊઠી ઉભા થામ્પેમ્યા મેમ રદંન કરી આપ દેહેરામાં ગમ્પેમ્યા રારવ મ્યતલગ રાજન મલી શાહિન સાચવ્યા માંમ રાવન ગેહાનપર લઈ દાંમિ પુહુચાડેમ્યા ઢાંમ

Translation.—(Alexander says) Ye all Iranians! Do all that is needful for this (Persian) king. Dispose of his body in the Tower (dâmi). He (Alexander) leaving there the head (of Dara) got up from there and weeping thus went to his tent. All good near ones (of Dara) thus treated him; placing him on a golden (Rigg or handsome) bier carried him to the Dakhmâ.

We see from the above preliminary portion of the Gujarati Virâf-namah, that Dastur Rustam describes at first the war between Darius and Alexander who is referred to in the introductory part of the Pahlavi Virâf-nameh as bringing ruin upon Persia. The miniature painting, therefore, is not that of an ordinary funeral of a Parsi of the 17th or 18th century as supposed by Mr. Inostrantsev, but that of the funeral of King Dara (Darius), as conceived by a Persian writer of the 17th century. I think that the fact of the Virâf-namah having been written in Gujarati—and that very difficult old Gujarati,—which, at places, is not intelligible even to us, has somewhat misled the Russian scholar. He has allowed himself to be guided more by the miniature than by the—to him unintelligible—contents of the work.

If we compare the two miniatures—the one given by Mr. Inostrantsev from the Gujarati Virâf-namah (No. 76 in the National Library of Paris) and that in my copy of the book, we find a good deal of similarity. Mr. Inostrantsev says, that the miniature in the other manuscript of the above library is similar. So, it appears that the two manuscripts of the Gujarati versified version of Virâf-namah in the Paris National Library are copies of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's version.

We will now try to understand the miniature given by Explanation of Mr. Inostrantsev. Dastur Rustam Pethe Miniature shotan, or the painter of the miniature who Painting, drew it at his instructions, had to borrow the elements of the picture from two sources.

- (1) The funeral ceremony as it prevailed at the time, i.e., in the 17th Century and
- (2) The funeral ceremony of a royal personage of the time of Darius and Alexander.

¹ Dâmi (હું,)). That the word dâmi is used for dakhmâ, appears from the fact, that the second version above referred to uses the word dakhmâ for Rustam's dâmi (આમ શાવન ગામાનપર મેલી દખમે મહિમાડિઆ થામ.) (f. 11 a).

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PARSIS There was no difficulty about the first, as the Dastur knew What it was. As to the second, he knew, that as Dara or Darius must he the come additional arrange. must be the same, but there must be some additional appendance of the document age on account of the deceased being a king. If we bear . 4J this in mind, the details of the miniature seem to be clear. Some of the differences between the actual modern ceremony and that as conceived or suggested by the author of the miniatures can at once be explained, if we bear in mind, that the procession in this case is supposed to be direct from the battlepoints which have perplexed Mr. Inostrantsev:

(1) The head of the deceased is uncovered, because Dara is being carried direct from the battle-field to the place of the Tower of Silence, where the final ceremony was to be perform. ed and the body disposed of. We learn from Rustam's Virâfnamah that Alexander had cut off the head of Dara. Dara's naman that Alexander had cut on the head of Dara. Data s in my manuscrint.) Again he is described as holding the in my manuscript). Again, he is described as holding the Severed head in his hand and as leaving it there on the battle. field before he went to his tent. We read (f. 24 a.):

^{શીશ મૂકી} તાંહાંથા ઊઠી _{ઊભા} યાએ આ

i.e., He (Alexander) leaving there the head (of Dara) got up from there. So, the carriers are supposed to have temporarily attached the head by some means to the body. Thus, we see,

Our author says "There is no mention in the essay of Mr. Modi as to how the corpse has to be put on the stretcher. In the miniature in the Gujarati manuscript, the corpse dressed when the hearers in white is lying with the face uncovered, when the bearers are carrying him head forward. (In the picture in Ms. N. 75 the corpse is being carried feet foremost.)" 1 The practice in India is that of putting the corpse on the bier feet foremost, as shown in the second miniature referred to by our author. The Faraziât-namah of Darab Pahlan says on this subject; i.e., the face of the dead body shall point towards the Dakhmâ.

Besides the above clear facts, as expressed in the above referred to quotation from the text of the Gujarati Ardai Virâf, saying that the corpse was directed by Alexander to be carried

for disposal, the following facts lead to show, that the picture, though it is a picture of a funcral, is not the picture of a regular funeral for the disposal of the body in the Tower, after the dast ceremony is performed, but the picture of simply carrying the corpse from the battlefield to the place of the Towers—something like that which we see at times in Bombay, of corpses being conveyed from Hospitals to the place of the Tower, where they are placed in a particular place for the last obsequies to be performed before the disposal of the body in the Tower.

- (1) The head is uncovered. No Parsis of the 17th or the 18th century or even of the present century would ever think of carrying a body bareheaded to a Tower. Here, in the miniature it is the corpse of a king whose head was cut off on a battlefield that is being carried from there, for the last obsequies.
- (2) The face is uncovered. In a regular Parsi funeral that is not the case.
- (3) The dress of the carriers shows that they are not the regular nasasâlars or carriers clothed in all white. At least their head-dress clearly shows this.
- (4) The uncovered hands without gloves also show that it is not a regular funeral.
- (5) The two well dressed persons carrying flags show that there is something unusual, not seen in a Parsi funeral. Here, the body is that of a king who is being carried from a battlefield in a procession, and so, men with flags form a proper appendage.
- (6) The presence of a horse in the procession also shows that there is something unusual. The horse is without a rider, and he represented the horse (of Darius) whose rider is killed in the battle.
- (7) The drawings of the Tower and the Sagdee in the picture show that the procession is represented as having entered into the premises of the Tower. So, the presence of more than one dog there is natural. At the Towers they generally keep more than one dog, to be used when more than one funeral come in at the same time. Here the dogs are unchained and move about loose. This fact also shows that it is not the last formal funeral, during which the dog is carried with a chain by a person to the corpse for the sagdid.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PARSIS Mr. Inostrantsev thinks that the hut in the picture, "the hut with the man sitting in front of the same, represents, most probably, either the house of the deceased or a special builda Tower, where a fire or lamp is always burning.1

The entrance to the Sagri is small and very low down on the ground. This may perhaps surprise even a Parsi of the present generation who generally sees sayris of a better form. But I remember, seeing in my younger days sagris of the type in the picture under consideration. Formerly, they were antrances generally small and low on the ground and their entrances Were also small. Anybody who wanted to enter had to stoop down, and to go in, in something like a sitting posture. "The man sitting in front, as said by our author, seems to show him in the posture of entering it.

Our author says: "Unexplained from the Parsi ritual remains the representation of the two persons in front carry. remains the representation of the two persons in front carryanalogy of some burial ceremonies of contemporary Musulman Persia. There is no need of such an explanation. The explanation is as given above. It is the preliminary funeral the Towars from a hattlafall The writer of the Viraf-nameh the Towers from a battlefield. The Writer of the Viaf-namah or the Painter of the picture has dwelt upon his imagination, of the cortess of a rowal parsonness like king Dara. In drawing of the cortege of a royal personage like king Dara. In drawing upon his imagination, the Writer or the painter may have had before him what he may have seen at the Mahomedan courts of the Nawâbs of Surat.

Parsis." (1922), p. 72. "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of th_{Θ}

APPENDIX.

Since writing the above, Mr. Beheramgor Tehemuras Anklesaria has kindly given me another Ms. of a Gujarati version of the Viraf-nameh. It begins with the usual Pahlavi and Persian forms of invocation and then has the following heading in red ink:—

"એ વીરાક નાંમ્ શૂરત શાથે કેતાબ લખેલી હૂતી તેમાંથી શાદી કરી ઉતારી છે."

i.e., This Viraf-nameh has been copied after simplification from the one which was written with pictures.

The word RIE (RIE Pers. 85 i.e., simple) makes it clear, that, according to the scribe, it is a simplified version from the original. He does not name the original, but, comparing the texts we easily find that it is a simplified rendering from the original of Rustam Peshotan. The simplicity is mostly in that of changing the old archaic forms of words of Rustam Peshotan into simple forms, so that the readers of the scribe's times can understand the book more easily. It is the rendering of a kind similar to that of the Manuscript referred to by me in my above paper. This simple rendering stands between the original of Rustam Peshotan and the rendering of the Kumânâ-text, which is much simpler than that of this version.

This Ms. has the following Gujarati colophon at the end.

કરચેપદ પ દરદ શાદી વ રાંમશની અંદર રાજ મળારક મીતા રામ ળ માહે મળારક ખુરદાદ અમશારપંદ પારશી શતે ૧૧૭૦ એજદે-જરદા. તારીખ...(1)... માહે....... શતે ૧૨૧૫ હીજરી એ દંતે કતાળી વીરાક શમાપરેલુ ક્રીધી. હેતા લખનાર મેાબેદ ખાકશાર માથે કરાતમ વલદ શાહરાળ બીન ખારશેદ બી. મેહેરતાશ ઉડકે મતાચેર હામજીનાંએ પાતાને જોવાસાર બીજી કતાળથી માશકરદા કરી લીધા છે શહી. હેના જીજ ગનતીએ બાર ૧૨ લખેલા છે સહી.

Translation:—Finished with salutation, joy and pleasure on the auspicious day Mino, (i. e., spiritual) Ram in auspicious month Khurdâd Amshâspand, Parsi year 1170 Yazdezerdi. Day 1 month year 1215 Hijri. The book of Viraf is finished on this day. Its writer is Mobed humble, (i.e., dust-like) Mobed Rustom, son of Sohrab, son of Khorshed, son of Mehernosh surnamed Minocher Homji. (He) has copied it for looking into it for himself from another book. Its juzs are written 12, twelve by calculation.

The Gujarati colophon is followed by a colophon in Persian verses. I give below some extracts from this writer and Rustam Peshotan and Kumana to show, how the later versions are simplified.

Rustam Peshotan's version (f. 26).

તાંહાંથી ધરમી લાેક શરવ નાહાશી ગએઆં દુગર ગારમાં જાઇ તે છાંનાં રહેઆં એ ધરમનું તાંહાં શરવ મેલવેઓ શાજ હીદાલા ચલાવી તાંહાં ધરતાતા ખાજ. ચેઆર પંચ બિશી એ દીનનું એમ બાંધેઓ બંધ એક દરેમે હેર શમરાવી તાંહા શરવ બેશી પઢતાતા જંદ. એક દાવર પરઠી તેહેનું એમ ધરેઉ નામ દશતૂર હાેકંમ લેઇ શરવ લેતાતા કાંમ. પરઘેમ આતશ બિહિરામ પરઠેઆ તે હાિ ઠાંમ વલતી હીદાલા બાજનૂ ચલાવેઉ કાંમ. તે ધરમીએ એમ ધરંમ જળવેઓ ખાશ તાંહાં ધરંમ રખણીનું શરવે લેતા તપાશ. ગહંબાર પ્રરભ શરવે પૂન કરતા કાંમ નવ નર બિશીનિ તેઆવ અનશાક કરતાતા આંમ.

Minocher Homji's Ms. (folio 7.) તાંહાંથી શરવ ધરમી લાેક નાહાશીને ગએમ્માં ડગર ગારમાંહાં જાંઇતે છાનાં રહેમાં

¹ It seems, that the writer of the version of the scribe intended to give the Mahomedan day and month, but, not knowing them at the time, left blanks which he forgot to fill up later on.

એ ધરમતા તાંહાં મેળવેંગા શાજ ઇજશને ધાહા ચલાવી તાં ધરતાતા ખાજ. એ ચેઆર પંચ બેશી એ દીનના એમ ભાંધેએ બ'ધ એક દરેમેહેર શમરાવી તાંહાં બેશી તાંહાં પહડતા જંદ. એક દાવર પર પરેડી તેહેનું એમ ધરી®ં નામ દશતુર હાેકમ લેઈ શરવ કરતા કામ પરથંમ આતશ બેહેરાંમ પરેડેઆ તેહેને ઠાર પછે હીદાલા બાજના ચલાવેઓ કાર તે ધરમીએ એમ ધરમ જાલએએ ખાશ તાંહાં ધરમ રાખણીના શરવ લેતા તપાશ ધમબાર પરલનું તાંહાં કરતા કાંમ નવ મરદ બેશીને નેઆ અનશાક કરતા આંમ.

Kumânâ (folio 12 a).

તાંહાંથી શરવે ધરમી લાેકા તા નાહાશી ગઐઆ પાહાડ કુંગર ગાડમાં નાહાશી જાઈ છાંના રહેઆ તાંહાં નાહાશી જાઈ એ ધરમના તે મેલાવેઓ શાજ હીંધાલા માંડી ઇજશને વંદીદાદ કરી ધરતાતા ખાજ. તાંહાં શરવે માેખેદ દશતુર અનજીમન ખેશી એમ બાંધેએ દીનના બંધ.

એક દરેમેહેર નવી ખાંધી તાંહાં પડતા હતા જંદ. એક અધેકારી દાવર પરથી તીહીતું ધરીઊ નાંમ દશતુરાના હુકમ લઇને શરવે કરતાતા કામ પરથમ આતેશ બીહીરામ પરકીઆ તીણી થાંમ પછી ઇશજને વંદીદાદ મીઅજદનું ચલાવેઊ કાંમ તાંહાં ધરમી લોકોહે ધરમ ચલાવીઓ ખાશ તાંહાં ધરમ રખણીતું શરવે લેતા તપાશ. ગહંખાર જશન શરવે કરતાતા કામ નવ નર ખેશી મશકાત કરતાતા આંમ.

A NOTE: ON THE "PARSEE MASSACRE

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, 2 there was an old Parsee Settlement at Variâv, near Surat. Some recent writings3 refer to Settlement at Variav, near Surat. Some recent writings refer to a fight or massacre at this place, wherein many Parsees, especiala fight or massacre at this place, wherein many Parsees, especialy women, were killed. The Parsees of Malesar at Naosari
nangle Parsees of Malesar at Naosari still observe the day of the massacre on Parsee Roz 29, Mah 1 still observe the day of the massacre on Parsee Koz za, man a ceremony. Recently, a Parsee Journal cast some doubts on more anthentic must be nointed out to prove the authenticity. the authenticity of the event, on the ground, that something of the event on of the authenticity more authentic must be pointed out to prove the authenticity Kitâb-i-Darun Yashtan, An Old Manuscript of the Manuscript Khol Karnâri Mandli, I drew attention to a reference to the event of the massacre in that manuscript, written in Samvat event of the massacre in that manuscript, written in Samvat draw attantion to an older manuscript a Dies to that paper, I drew attention to an older manuscript, a Disâ Pothi, Written in Samvat 1793, i.e., about 186 years ago. In a post-script to about 107 years ago. Thus Pothi, written in Samvat, 1782 i.e., about 197 years ago. Thus, I showed that the statements of the later writers In Samvat, 1782 i.e., about 197 years ago. Thus, I snowed that about the event which statements of the later writers of this Note is to refer to a still older hook written more. object of this Note is to refer to a still older book, Written more than 300 years ago, wherein the event is referred to. reference in this book further shows the authenticity of the event.

The book, I Want to refer to in this Note, is that of Rev. Henry Lord, Written in A.D. 1621, i.e., about 301 years ago.

¹ This note was read before the Jarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnari Man.
i. at its sitting of 15th December 1922 Samvat 1979, 1292 A. Y.

dli, at its sitting of 15th December 1922, Samvat 1979, 1292 A. Y. 2 Vide my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and

Jaces, P. 14.

3 (a) The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX., Part II, Gujarat Population, Parsees, Vide the separate publication of the writers entitled "Gujarat Solars Tavárikh-i-Naosari., pp.

⁴ Published in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. I,

of the Banians, the ancient natives of India, and the Sect of the Per-

He was at Surat as the Chaplain of the English factors for several years. Lord, in his Introduction, says, that his information was obtained from "one of their (i.c., the Parsees') churchmen called their Daroo, and by the interpretation of a Persee, whose long employment, in the Company's service, had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue." He refers to this event in the first chapter "declaring who these Persees are, their ancient place of abode, the cause of relinquishing their own Country, their Arrival in East India, and their abode there." At first, under the marginal heading of "oppressed by the Mahometans," he thus speaks of the cause of their coming to India. "The Mahometans upon the death of Yezdegerd, carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals unto them; and, as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to Mahomet's constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the Mahometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship. These Persees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law, and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape, and as close conveyence as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs, if there, though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion." Lord then speaks of their coming to the shores of the Persian Gulf and embarking from a place named Jasques on a fleet of seven juncks. He then speaks of their coming to Sanjan, and it appears, from what he says of the treaty with the Raja, that the same Raja ruled over Nuncery (Naosari) and Sanjan. The Parsees in five of the seven juncks or boats thus treated with the Raja who ruled over all the regions including Naosari and Sanjan. Then, he thus speaks of the Parsees in the other two juncks: "The other two juncks remaining, one of them put into the road of Swaley,2 and treated with a Rajah that then

sees, the ancient inhabitants of Persia, together with the Religion and Manners of each sect, in two parts, by Henry Lord, sometime resident in East-India, and Preacher to the Honourable Company of Merchants trading thither." This book is included in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. The section of the Parsees is at pp. 328-42. The first edition as a separate book was published in 1630.

¹ For the word Dâroo, vide my Paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat" (J. B. B. R. A. S. of 1916, Vol. XXIV, p. 386). Vide my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab, p. 71, 2 Modern Sumari.

resided at Bariaw near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former; but the Rajah of that place, having wars with a neighbouring Rajah, who got the conquest, the Persees that resided with the conquered, were all put to the sword, as adherents to the Enemy." Then Lord says, that the seventh junck went to Cambay and was received by the ruling power there "upon the prementioned conditions."

It would seem that the details of what happened at Sanjan, according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, at the time of the invasion of Mahomed Begadâ, have been transferred by Lord to Bariâv also. But, however that may be, there is no good reason to doubt the main fact, recorded by Lord, of a defeat and a massacre of Parsis at Bariâv (Variâv). Thus, in his book written in 1621 A.C. i.e., about 301 years ago, we find an older authority than that of the three Parsee manuscripts referred to above. Lord does not give the date of the event but merely refers to a massacre at Variâv (Bariâw). So, it appears certain, that the event happened some time earlier, much earlier than 1621 A.D.

The later oral tradition, as recorded in the above Bombay Gazetteer of Sir James Campbell, and in Mr. Sorabji Desai's History of Naosari connects the event with a massacre of women first and then of men. Mr. Desai attributes it to differences with the adjoining Bhils; the Gazetteer to differences with the Rajput chief of Ratanpur. The latter seems to be more probable, and Lord's account seems to support it. Both the Gazetteer's account and Mr. Desai's account associate women specially with the event amd speak of their bravery. But Lord does not refer to any special part played by the women. Again, our own three authorities, the Kitab-i-Darun Yasht and the two Disâ-pothis do not refer to any special part played by women. The Kitâb-i-Darun Yasht speaks of "ગુજરાતમાં આવ પછી મારામ્પેઆ." These Gujarati words seem to refer to a massacre, of the males, not of females. Had there been anuswar over the final letter a (આ).), we could have positively said, that both males and females were included. But, anyhow these words do not seem to associate the event specially with women. Again, the words of the first Disâ-pothi રામરાત વરી આવા ખેડેદીન. They also do not indicate anything special about women; but, at the same time, they do not exclude women. In the same way, the second Disapothi also does not specialise women but speaks generally. Lord also does not refer to women. So, it seems, that we must wait till some further authority is discovered to connect the event particularly with women.

¹ i.a., conditions similar to those with the Rajah at Sanjan.

A FEW NOTES ON THE PAHLAVI TREATISE OF DRAKHT-I ASURÎK.*

I.

This paper has been suggested to me by a brief study of a paper, entitled "Drakht-i-Asurik," by Dr. Jamshedji Mancekji Unvala, published in a recent "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution" (Vol. II, Part IV., pp. 637-678). Dr. Unvala gives his "wording of the text" and translation with copious notes, all preceded by a Preface. As he says in the Preface (p. 640), his "wording of the text is based mostly on the text published in the Pahlavi Texts," edited by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana (pp. 109-114), published in 1913 with an excellent Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria. The Pahlavi text was, ere this, published and lithographed by Mon. E. Blochet in the "Revue de L'Histoire des Religions" (Tome XXXII (1895), Lithographed Pahlavi, pp. 18-23) under the heading "Textes Pehlvis inédits relatifs à la Religion Mazdéenne." This text is the seventh or the last of the seven texts published and translated with notes by M. Blochet in the Review.²

Blochet calls this text an "apologue," i.c., a moral fable and says: "Cette fable est tirée bu manuscript Supplément persan, no. 1216, p. 1-4, La copie est très moderne et en beaucoup d'endroits fautives. "4 He, in his "Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale" (p. 68), speaks of the above "supplément persan 1216," as "Recueil de différents traités zends et pehlvis" and of this Pahlavi text as "Fable pehlvie, contenant une descussion entre un chêne et une chèvre

^{*} This paper was read before the Jarthoshti Dan-ni khol karnâri Mandl on 27th July 1923.

¹ Mr. Behramgore Ankleseria had also, with his learned father, the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Ankleseria, a great and important hand in the preparation and publication of the Texts.

² Two texts precede pp. 99-115 of the Translation and Notes. This text precedes p. 217.

³ Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (1895), Vol. 32, p. 233.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 236-37.

sur la question de savoir lequel des deux est le plus utile é l'hommo,"1

Dr. West, in his article on Pahlavi Literature (Grundries der Iranischen Philologie I Bank II, p. 119), speaks of this treatise as "Darakht-i-Asûrîg", professing " to be an alter cont. in which both state their claims to be an alter goat, in which both state their claims to being more useful

Thus, we see that five Iranian Scholars have more or less referred to this text. Three of them—Blochet, Jamaspji and Unvala—have published the text—Two of them—Blochet and Unvala—have puousued the text.

Unvala—have also translated it. One of them—Behramgore—

The property of it in his Introduction (pp. 37-39) of Jamaspji's edition. West has very briefly said what it contains. The story in brief is, that a certain tree says to a goat, that it (the tree) is more useful to mankind than the goat. The tree enumerates the different uses for which it is used. Then, the goat runs down the tree and advances its own claim as being more useful to mankind than the tree, the tree of Asûr.

The writer does not give the title of the writing. What Blochet says? generally of the Pahlavi writings is true of the pahlavi writings writings writings writings writing writings will be also writing writi heads the text as "Drakht-i-Asurîk" in Pahlavi. But he has added the heading from himself. It does not occur in the texts given by Blochet and Jamaspji. In the text itself, the tree is referred to in four places by name:

- 1. In the very beginning (S. 11)3, it is spoken of as "the tree which grows on the frontiers of the country (city) of Asurik Then in S. 20, as "drakht-i-Asurîk."4

 - Then in S. 45, as "drakht-i-Asurîk."
 - Then in S. 49, as "drakht-i-Asurîk."

I i. c., "A Pahlavi fable containing a discussion between an oak and a she-gont on the question as to which of the two is most useful to

^{2 &}quot; L'ouvrage (Bundehesh) est absolument anonyme et sans titre. commo d' aillours malheureu3sement anonyme et sans utre. (Le Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1895, Vol. XXXII, p. 100).

Unvala adds here and in the following an ' of his own. The other texts do not give it.

Thus we see that the tree is spoken of thrice as "Darakhti-Asurik," and in one place only, and that in the very beginning, as "the tree growing on the frontiers of the Asurik country or the Country of Asur." The kind or the species of the
tree is not mentioned at all. On the other hand, the animal,
with which there has arisen the question of superiority, is men-

tioned clearly as goat ((buz G)).

II.

Now the question I propose determining is: Which is the tree referred to as the Darakht-i-Asurîk? Of all the five scholars referred to above, four do not say what the tree is. Bloche, only says what tree it is, and that even, not in his article of translation and notes in the Review of the History of Religions but in his above-mentioned Catalogue of the Iranian MSS. in the National Library of Paris. He speaks of the tree in French as "chêne" which means an "oak". West does not say what tree it is. Behramgore does not say what tree it is, but he seems to take it to be a large tree with hard wood. Unvala also does not say what that tree is, but from his rendering of several words, he seems to take it for a large tree like the oak. I beg to submit that the tree is the date-palm. All the various uses which the tree claims for itself do not suit the oak, but they suit the date-palm. We will look into the properties claimed by the tree, to see, that they all suit the datepalm. In doing so, I will submit my Notes on some words here and there, where I differ from the learned scholars who have written on the subject. The properties and uses are the following1:

- (1.) Dry trunk (dûn khûshk).
- (2.) Green top (sar lachin)¹.

¹ Blochet reads the words as razin and says: "Razin est l'équivalent, de tar, qui signifie, en persan, humide, mouille et de là, en pêrlant d' une plante, vert, verdoyant," i.e 'Razin is the equivalent of tar which signifies in Persian, 'humid' 'watery, 'and from that, on speaking of a plant 'green verdent' (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (1895), Vol. 32, p. 237). Unvala follows Blochet, and translates the word as "Moist." He says. "The copyist has written the ideogram for tar 'aside, besides,' instead of 'tarr fresh,' M.P."." Blochet calls this "an abusive use in Pahlavi"

of a "synonyme de tar pour traduire le zend tarô dans des expressions ou il a un sens tout diffèrent." Such an "abusive use" of synonyms is possible. We find such misuse in the Persian rendering of a word in the Pahlavi Vandidad (Ch. V. s. 36). In the Avesta of this section, we

- A FEW NOTES ON THE DRAKHT-I-ASURÎK
- Fibres (straight) like canes (rish kanya)1. Fruits like grapes (bar manêd angûr).
- Sweet produce (bâr shirîn).
- (6) Fruits eaten by kings.

read, that Ahura Mazda, in reply to a question as to how many persons on the first of the state out of all those who are sitting together in close contact with a dead body on a carried and in their out of all those who are sitting together in close contact with a dead body midst. says. midst, says:

بر المرادة ال i.c., (such a wicked man is) like a frog whose poison is dried up (hushk P. Cai) and which has been dead more (taro) than a year ago." Now the word taro (Mayo) in the Avesta is used in this sense of he first Palilavi translator very properly seems to have rendered it by the ideagram " (levin, read also rôîn or rûîn. Hoshang's Vend. glossary, p. 200) which means "before, in front, foregoing." But the gloss of it in Persian is given as, i.e., moist. The Persian commentator took the Pahlavi rendering Tevin' of the Avesta Live to mean, I moist (Hoshang's Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 178, n. 4.) He was misguided by the Avesta word tare which he took to correspond to Persian Again, finding the word 'khushk' dry' preceding it, he was easily misled to take this word for 'moist' and so gave it as . The word red

in the text is the same as lyp.

But, though this abusive use is possible, I beg to suggest another derivation. It is from the Avesta root yet Sans. Re Lat. licere, licetare, linquere, to leak Pers. Lit is the root which we find in our English word 'Irrigate' Cf. 100/13/2011-2002 (Vend. XIV. 13) 'irrigating twice.' Again, in the light of what Hoshangii says, as ruin, i.e., 'foregoing' and take it to mean 'lofty.' In that case, the word may be taken to be the same as Pers. raiwan (Use) i.e. "Ord may be taken to be the same as reas, rainan (speceding.), The words may then mean "lofty top" and they also Buit a characteristic of the date tree.

- (7) Plates of a weaver's shuttle (makukân¹ takht).
- (8) Canopy2 of the sails of ships (bad banan والديانان)
- (9) Brooms to sweep houses (jinak rubmun man virazend.)
- (10) Stick for beating oxen, while scparating grain from straw (Gawaz³....mun kupend gah va beranj).
- (11) Bellows for blowing fire (daminak (p. ~3)....âtashan vazâi).
- (12) Shoes4 of the farmers (mok-i-varzegarân, p. موزة).
- (13) Shoes of the bare-footed (nakhlân-i-barhanè-pâyân. p. ماضن shoes. الشاء is also a palm-tree. So perhaps, the shoes were so-called, because they were at first prepared from palm-trees).
- (14) The rope (rasan Arab. رسن) with which goats' feet are tied.
- (15) The stick (P. chûb) which they put on the necks (gardan گردی) of the cattle.

a weaver's shuttle.

[&]quot;Tapestry with which they adom the walls on feast days" (Steingass). Unvala translates it as 'cloth.' It Seems to be the same as the Avesta word "fraspât" (Yasht XV, 2, 7, II) in the sense of "canopy." I have seen, in some parts of the Chinese Sea, sails made of a kind of matting.

an ox-goad. I think, it is a reference عوارساك 3

to the process of separating grain from the husk, in which process the ox is made to walk over the Stalks of the rice-plants. Unvala seems to have taken the tree to be the oak, and so he takes gawaz for mortar (P. j) means mortar also).

⁴ Unvala, perhaps with the idea of taking the tree to be the oak, adds in bracket the word "wooden" before "shoes."

⁵ Behramgere and Unvala take the word wyorf machend from

Pers. mâchidan, to kiss, and translate, "the stick wherewith they kiss (machend) the two apples of the neck" (Behramgore), or "the post with which they kiss thy neck" (Unvala). But I think, that to speak of a stick or a piece of wood, put round the neck of a goat or an ox to prevent it from running away easily, as "kissing the neck" of the goat is too dignified or high-flowing a way of speech to be applied to a goat. Blochet translates as: baton avec lequel on te fait courber le col" (p.234). (The stick with which they bend down the neck.) So, he does not take the word mâchend in the sense of "kissing," but in that of 'bending.'

A FEW NOTES ON THE DRAKHT-I-ASURIK (16)The peg (mikh : 10) by which they hang the head down. (This refers to the practice of hanging the carcase of the slaughtered animal by its feet with a view to dress it properly.) Chips of wood for roasting (you) the goat.1

I derive the words free from Avesta pig-ipine i.c., to place over, Our Gujerati word pot which we find in Lat. c-mung-ere, to lay aside. Sans. ਮੁੱਖਵੁੱ comes from this

Chibû humanam ûtarûn mun lak sich barizend. In this sentence Blochet gives the last but one word as we instead of as we and he translates the sentence as follows: " Je deviens le combustible du feu de réchausse du primant les rimannes de la late du feu du feu henome lates the sentence as follows: .. Je deviens le combustible du feu durant les riguours de l' hivers, (i.e., al become during the rigour of avec lequel on te rechaune aurant les riguours ae l'inver, (r.e., 'l become winter); unique during the rigour of

In the first place, I think the word 'sij' or 'saj,' as given by Blochet, is miswritten. In his Notes he (p. 238, Note 26) gives the word as "sij, scj,Zend ithyfjö." The Pahlavi of the Avesta word is van as given

in Dastur Jamaspii's text. From what I had heard at the time, Dastur and among them of this text—to Darmesteter, when he was in Bombay Jamaspii himseli had given a copy of some of his rare rankay rexis—in 1887, and. I think, the text—to Darmesteter, when he was in Bombay handles in his and among them of this text—to Darmesteter, when he was in Bombay translation and which he has given as "supplement Persan 1216" in his a Dart of Darmesteter's collection presented translation and which he has given as a supplement Persan 1216 in his to the Bibliothèque Nationale by Mme. Mary Collection presented of the word, is miswritten. Leaving aside the question of the presented of winter, which he gives understand has given it, is most item. Leaving aside the question word, is most item. Leaving aside the question of the word, is most item. Leaving aside the question of the resented ground he has been presented of winter. Which he gives, warming the glochet has arrived as he that rendering is far-fetched and we do not know on what he is silent on ground he has based that rendering. Unfortunately he is silent on

Behramgore Anklesaria gives the rendering as "Fuel am I of the fires the idea of "too." The last letter 'ch' seems to have led him to that interpretation.

Unvala translates: "I am the fuel of the fire which roast thee completely. "He takes the word in question to be the same as modern Persian and many and a many the manning th sich, "preparation, order" and says: "Most probably the meaning form the verb adverbially through and through, and the

- (18) Shade¹ in summer.
- (19) The seat2 of cultivators.

expression sez bristan equal to modern Persian wito cook thoroughly." This seems to be much far-fetched, and so, he very rightly hesitates to accept this as a correct rendering and adds: "or does the word signify some product of the goat"?

Thus, we see, that the word sich troubles all the above three learned scholars. I think the difficulty is solved, if you take the word to be the same as Pers. سنيخ 'a roasting-spit, 'a word which we Parsees stil use as (भूजवानी) शीर. The word सीर is given in the Gujarati and English Dictionary, compiled by Mirza Mahomod Cauzim and Nowrozjee Furdoonjee (1846) as meaning "a spit, an iron rod for roasting meat" (p. 377). The authors derive the word from P. The word chîbâ (which is also found as chîpâ, vide Glossary of the Viraf-nameh by Hoshang-Haug, p. 127) means "fire wood," as well as "chips of wood, sticks" (Ibid). Now, here, the reference seems to be to the practice in the East, which we saw upto a few years ago in Bombay and which we still see in some centres of date-palms, such as Naosari, Surat, Gundavee, &c. People going on picnic parties to drink toddy, the juice of the datc-palm. under the date-palms, get some palm-branches cut and prepare chips from the hard portion of its wood and then pierce pieces of mutton through it to be roasted in fire. The practice is known to many of us who have attended such toddy picnic parties at Naosari. Bearing this fact in mind, and taking the word sich to be the same as Pers. هنج Sikh, our modern Parsee Gujerati sik tilk, the difficulty is solved and the translation is easy as "I am (i.e., I form) the chips of wood with the roasting spits of which they roast thee on fire.

I The word asayê is Pers. الهام 'shade,' Gujerati الهام 'shade,' Gujerati الهام 'shade,' Gujerati الهام 'shade' or Shehrdaran i.e., rulers of cities, Blochet and Behramgore take it as referring to umbrellas held over kings. The proper word for umbrella is مايريا والمايريا والمايريا والمايريا الهام 'sayeban and so, I agree with Unvala, and say that the word simply refers to the shade given to all, even to kings, by the palm. For what we know, the umbrellas of kings are made of richer stuffs than date-palm leaves.

I read the word as arsh, Arab. شرث which has several meanings, such

as, "throne, chair of state, roof of a house, a tent," &c. It also means

² This word is variously read. Blochet reads it as "arsh" and puts the mark of question (?), to doubt whether the reading is correct. He says: "Je ne connais aucun mot iranien ou semitique, qui puisse en etre rapproche. La lecture en est aussi douteuse que le sens" (p. 238). Then hesitatingly he says: "La phrase signifie mot a mot: Je suis l'arsh (?) (ruche.) des ouvriers en miel." So, Blochet hesitatingly takes the word for bee-hive (ruche). Behramgore reads the word as kharya. To him, the meaning seems to be unintelligible. Unvala takes it to be an ideogram for shakr, i.e., sugar. The ideogram for shakr (sugar) in the Pahlavi Pazend glossary is âtôr her (Hoshang-Haug, Chap. V).

- A FEW NOTES ON THE DRAKHT-I ASURIK A place of conversation (gob-gac) ?1
- (21) A grainary.2 (22)
- Medicine chest (P. نارودان).

"stay, support." So, I think the word may mean a seate a tent or shed. It refers to the use of the palm leaves, both for matting and for eultivators: or it may be taken in the shed. It refers to the use of the palm leaves, both for matting and for tent-like huts or sheds, by poor cultivators; or it may be taken in the live upon the fruits of the palm trees. Again, the word can also be read Sense or the word, support and to refer to the fruits of the palm trees. Again, the word can also be read as kharsh, and, in that case, it may be the same as Arabic imeaning

in the second meaning of the above word (arch.) in the second meaning of the above word 'arsh.' 1 Blochet takes the Word to mean "miel," i.e., honey. We find the

I Blochet takes the word to mean "miel," i.e., honey. We find the gobashya. Then, it is added in a bracket that "it ought, read as meaning of the word is given as 'honey. It is said

to be the same as angmin 19.54 (ibid. p. 63), Pers. will with some hesitation transates the sentence containing this and the Beiehramore finds it difficult to understand this word. He simply gives Beichramgore finds it difficult to understand this word. He simply gives the kharva of the farmers, the Beichramgore finds it difficult to understand this word. He simply gives the meaning of the sentence as "I am the kharya of the simply gives the sentence as." I am not sure of my reading. Unvala translates and the honey of the gohashya of the nobles." I am not sure of my reading. Unvala translates noble." The meaning seems probable, if we take it, that the honey of the palm and to the honey by the bees from its flowers or juice. But, as BlochetIs to the preparation of sugar from the Juce of the pain and to the preparation of honey by the bees from its flowers or juice. But, as mantioned a hore and helow the one in mastion do not refer to preparation of honey by the bees from its howers or juice. But, as its nea as any food but to its nea for the ordinary nurnoses other than the uses mentioned above and below the one in question, do not refer to that of food, I do not think that this meaning will do. I think that just as the above arsh refers to some kind of seat, this word also may be taken that of food, 1 do not think that this meaning will do. 1 think that Just for a similar nurnose. So, I am inclined to take it as gob-vas. i.c., a as the above arsh refers to some kind of seat, this word also may be taken for a similar purpose. So, I am inclined to take it as gob-gâs, i.e., a lit seems to refer to for a similar purpose. So, I am inclined to take it as gob-gas, i.c., a some ornamental arbour made of the branches of the date-palm. As parlour, a place where noblemen may sit and talk. It seems to reter said above I am a little doubtful of my modering. If we accept to some ornamental arbour made of the branches of the date-pain. As rendering of Unvala for this and the preceding word as "sugar and said above, I am a little doubtful of my rendering. If we accept the honey, which on the face seems to be possible, then it may be said in dates of the date $palm_{\bullet}$

honey," which on the face seems to be possible, then it may be said in balm. 2 Blochet divides the word as Ar I ere and translates as "rouet et le fuseau" (p. 234), i.e., "a spinning wheel and a spindle." gore takes it for takeng Sie; a musket. Unvala takes the word for chest. The word is used in that sense in the Pahlavi Vendidad (VII, 48), where Dastur Dorabji takes it for 'chest' (Vide his Pahl. Vend. p. 124, n. 3). I take the word in the sense of Pers. Suij lapangi, which Beh_{ram} -

means "a grainary" (Steingass). We know, that even now, in some parts of Gujarat they make large baskets from palm-leaves to store

All the qualities and uses of the tree, enumerated above tend to show, that the tree is the date-palm. The reference in the very begining to the trunk being dry and the top moist points to the date-pâlm, which oozes at the top and gives the sweet juice of toddy. The oak does not give any sap at the top. Again, the "cane-like fibres" are more the products of date-palms than of oaks. Then the grape-like sweet fruits, eaten even by kings, refer more to the date fruits of oak trees. It is true that oaks do give some edible fruits but they are eaten by the poor. Mr. C. P. Johnson in his article on oak 1 says of the fruit: "The acorns of the oak possess a considerable economic importance as food for swine. ... In times of dearth acorns were boiled and eaten by the poor as a substitute for bread...Large herds of swine in all the great oak woods of Germany depend for their autumn maintenance on acorns." These acorn fruits cannot be "the grape-like sweet fruits eaten by kings " as referrd to in our Pahlavi book. The description applies to the date-fruit, the best quality of which, even now, adorns the dining tables of kings. I will not enter here into all the uses of the tree referred to in our paper, but simply say that all these uses suit more the date-palm than the oak. In some cases the products of the oak tree cannot at all be adopted for the uses.

I beg to submit that the Pahlavi word موالدو read "Asurik" by all the above learned scho-Another reading of the Pahlavi lars may be read as Khajûrîk. The first word read as "asuletter can be read as 'kh'. there is some difficulty about the second letter in which

I think there is one extra stroke; we have to for the Otherwise the word can easily be read as khajurik which means a date-palm. But then one may say that we have not in Avesta, Pahlavi and persian the word khajurik for the date But, the word seems to be an old Aryan word, since gold-coloured buenches (vid P. ابیده). Then this happens that poor men who have no wine or bread eat my fruits (P. (!) which hang in companionship (i.e., in bunches P. (539! p.). This passage is a clear reference to the gold-colured bunches of dates which hang form a date tree. The dates form staple food of many people. 1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVII, 9th Ed., p. 692,

we have in Sanskrit a word हिंदी Kharjur, which according to Apte, means a date-tree. The word שלענף may be, if the second letter is written with a flourish or a higher stroke as hajur אפאלעף is also spoken of in Sanskrit as kharjur.

III.

Then, if we take the reading to the Kharjur, which is the city

Which is the city spoken of as Shatro-i-Khajurik.

spoken of as the city of the Date-Palm? I think, it is the city of Palmyra which was so named by the Greeks and Romans. It is a small hamlet now, but at one time,

it was a renowned city.³ It was situated in an oasis of the great Syrian desert. It is the Tadmor⁴ of the old Testament of the Hebrews. The name means the city of Palm-trees The Greek name Palmyra is a translation of the old Hebrew name. Thus, we see that Palmyra would be a proper rendering of our city of Khajuri or the City of date-palms. Just as khajuri (date-palm) is a sacred tree among the Parsees, so it was a sacred tree among the Hebrews and the early Christians. The latter have still a Holiday, known as the palm-Sunday, when branches of palms are placed over the altar.

Then the following description of the date-palm⁵ summarises a few facts of what we read in our Pahlavi treatise: "Not only are dates a staple diet in Arabia....but the plaited leaves furnish mats and baskets, the bark is made into ropes and the seeds are ground up for cattle. From the dates is made a kind of Syrup date-honey or dibs, a valuable substitute for sagar."

IV.

Thne the next question is, wether under the word goat bûz there is any particular species meant or the whole class of

¹ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 443.

² The Unâdi aûtra IV, 90. Vide "Ujjvaladdatta's Commentary on the Unâdisûtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the east India House by Theodor Aufrecht (1859) p. 109. We find form this that khajuri is a feminine from (स्थिया चुजी)

³ Smith's Classical Dictionary.

⁴ Cf. Our Indian word tad alls for a species of the Palm-tree.

⁵ Rev. Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, vide Palm-tree,

The following statement of the goat perplexes us a little. It says:

Lakhvâr val pusht yakhsunam kufan val kuf vazlunet rabâ keshvar vai pusue yakusuuam kuiau vai kui vaziunet zareh javait sardeh mardûm mûn katrûnd lavin ân bûn."

Translation.—Again, I carry (men) on my back from mountain to mountain. There go (over my back) to great countries from the frontiers (of the country) of the Hindus to the frontiers. tiers of the sea Varkash, different kinds of men who live on the frontiers of that country.

Now this statement about the carrying of men over their backs from mountain to mountain form the forntiers of India to the shores of the Vouru-kash, the Caspian, seems puzzling in the case of ordinary goats. So, I think this is an allusion to that particular kind of goats which are known in the higher mountains of the Himalayas as the yaks. We read the following of the yak:—"It occurs both wild and as the ordinary domestic animal of the inhabitants of that region, supplying milk, food and rament, as well as being used as a beast of

goats?

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. 24, p. 725.

A NOTE ON "AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE DIVAN-I-HAFIZ," RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY OF THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

This manuscript bears No. 176 in the catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the Institute, completed by Mr. Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., and published in 1923. Mr. Dhabhar describes it as follows on page 173 of the catalogue:—"176 Divan-i-Hafiz 7.6" × 4.9". Half bound; country made paper; ff. 179 written in 15 ll. to the page; somewhat worm-eaten. This MS.was written in A.H. 964. It was originally presented by Mr. Charles K. Elphinstone to Mr. Cursetji Jamsetjee (afterwards Sir Jamshedji II)."

The date of completion, given at the end of the volume, is the 29th of Muharrm, 964 Hijri, corresponding to 2nd December 1556 A.D.. The statement in Persian regarding the presentation of it, by Mr. Elphinstone, to Mr. Kurshedji (afterwards Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai, the second Baronet), is on a fly-leaf at the beginning. It appears to have passed from Mr. Khurshedji to his younger brother, Mr. Sorabji Jamshedji, a well known Persian scholar. As to how it subsequently came to be presented to the Institute, will be seen from the following note at page VII of the preface of Mr. Dhabhar's catalogue:—

"These manuscripts and a large number of printed books were presented by Sheth Sorabji's widow, Bai Bachubai to the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotan B. Sanjana, Principal of the Sir J. J. Madressa, about 30 years ago. His son and successor in the Principal-ship, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darabji sent them, in 1911, to the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat as very little use was made of them at the Madressa. The Trustees have presented them to this Institute, so that a much larger circle of students may have the benefit of them."

The folios of the manuscript have been numbered in Persian, presumably by the original copyist, in a peculiar manner. They have not been placed at the tops of pages a usual, but at the tops of the Gazals, which begin on the first page of each folio, so that they appear sometimes in the middle of a page. Some one has numbered the folios in pencil in English at the top, not from the right to the left, as usual, but from the left to the right, so that the book ends on the folio marked I in English, but 180 in Persian.

The following list of old manuscripts of Hafiz, with their dates, compiled by me from the information kindly furnished by the authorities of various libraries, and from other sources, may be of use to scholars:—

	Library.			л. п. date.	A.C. date.			
1.	Bodlein		• •	843	1439			
2.	British Museum		• •	855	1451			
3.	Royal Asiatic Society		• •	872	1467-68			
4.	Bankipore			9th century	,			
5.	British Museum			921	1515			
6.	Cama Oriental Institute		٠.	904	1556			
7.	Bankipore		• •	971	1563			
8.	Imperial Library (Calcu	itta)	٠.	10	6th century			
9.	Bengal Asiatic Society		• •	1013	1604			
n.	11. Mulla Feroze Library (Bombay)							
	No. 261		• •	1035	1625			
11.	German Oriental Societ	У	• •	1098	1686			
12.	Imperial Library (Calc	utta)		1137	1724			
13. Mulla Feroze Library (Dr. By-								
ramji Pestanji's presentation								
	No. 27)			1158	1745			
14.	Mulla Feroze Library,	No.	251	1181	1767			
15.	Mulla Ferozo Library,	No.	250	1197	1782			
16.	16. Bänkipore Library, other six MSS							
	conturies.							

Major H.S Jarrett in the Preface of his edition of the Divani-Hafiz, published at Calcutta, in 1881, refers to an old manuscript which he had collated with Hermann Brockhau's text (A.C. 1854) which itself was based on Sudi's rescension conisdered to be the most authentic. It is dated A.H. 978 (1570 A.C.) He does not say where that old manuscript is at present. So I have not included it in the above list.

¹ Lt.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clark, in the preface of his translation of the Divan-i-Hafiz. (1891 A.C., V), gives the corresponding Christian year as 1593. That seems to be a mistake.

A FEW NOTES ON ANQUETIL DU PERRON'S OWN COPY OF HIS "ZEND AVESTA, L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE," RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN COLOMBO.

T

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute has been recently presented
with an unique copy of the three volumes
of Anguetil Du Perron's "Zend-Avesta,

Ouvrage de Zoroastre." The value of these volumes lies in this, that (a) they are the copy of the author's own library, that (b) they are embellished with the author's own notes in his own hand writing and that (c) they contain, attached to their fly-leaves, some original letters, received by him from contemporary scholars and others, on subjects referred to in his work and on other collateral oriental subjects.

Mr. Kaikhosru Dadabhoy Chowksy of Colombo wrote to me, on 2nd December 1923, saying, that a gentleman there, who, he subsequently wrote, was a well-known solicitor in Colombo, had a copy of three volumes of Anquetil, which seemed to be those of the author himself (ગ્રંથકર્તાની પાતાની કાપાંગ્યા લાગે છે). He further asked my advice as to what should be the price of these and as to which Institution they can be presented, when obtained. When Mr. Chowksy said that the volumes seemed to belong to the author, I thought to myself, that the copies of the author himself could not have come from distant Paris to Colombo, because, most of Anquetil's literary possessions were presented to the well-known Bibliothèque du Roi, now known as the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. However, I wrote in reply on 11th December 1923, saying that the volumes may be presented to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. The volumes were then carefully brought to me, by our mutual friend Mr. P. Muncherjee of Bombay, with one letter, dated January 1924 from Mr. Chowksy, and another, dated 24th December 1923 from the owner of the volumes, Mr. Leslie de

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Saram of the well-known firm of Messrs. F. J. and G. de Saram, Proctors of Colombo. Mr. Leslie de Saram also said in his letter that "Anguetil Du Perron's Works appear to be the Author's his latter that he presented the that ... Anquetii Du Perron's works appear to be the Author's Works appear to be the Author's Molecular to the R. R. Cama Oriental Institute. On looking Volumes to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. On looking to the Volumes, I was delighted to find, that what had "seemed" to the volumes, I was dengined to mid, that what had seemed a Saram was a fast and that the volumes were Analytics de Saram, was a fact and that the volumes were Anquetil's own Library copies, which he had embellished with his further own Library copies, which he had embelhance with his interest Anguetil had attached, here and there, to the fly-leaves, &c., Some original communications from known literary personages of his time. The very first letter struck me as an important document.

I had the pleasure of reading before this Society two papers on Anquetil,—one on 16th December 1915, entitled "Anquetil Anquetil Anquetil On 7th Rahmann 1016 antitled "Anquetil Du Damon of Paris." another on 7th February 1916, entitled "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat. "I In the first 2 of these two papers, I have briefly referred to a subject which had annoyed Anquetil on his return home and which had led him to ask for a Certificate from the Librarian of the Bibliothèque du Roi. I found, that the very first communication attached to the first fly-leaf of the first volume sent to me was the original certificate. I will refer to this subject later on. The perusal of this certificate.

The perusal of this certificate.

The perusal of this certificate. cate and a further hasty dip into the volumes at once led me to think, that it was an unique gift that I had, by the grace of God, been fortunate to secure for my dear K. R. Cama Oriental Mr. Leslie de Institute. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Leslie de Saram, on my own behalf for kindly accepting my suggestion, and, on behalf of the Institute, for kindly presenting to it these valuable not only for its contents of Notes. Valuable volumes—valuable not only for its contents of Notes, which the sentimental Some Original letters, plans, &c., but also for the sentimental These volumes Value of being the copies of the author himself. These volumes Will be, therefore, a Valued possession of the Institute, valued nossessed by our Rombay Rranch of the Royal Asiatic Society. possessed by our Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Chowksy also for and convening it to the generous kindly accepting my suggestion and conveying it to the generous donor.

Journal Vol. XXIV, pp. 313.381 and 386.456. I have later on empaied these Papers in my book containing my contribution in Gujerati bodied these Papers in my book containing my contribution in Gujerati
and 32 parts to the columns of the local Jâm.i.Jamshed, commencing from bodied these Papers in my book in 32 parts to the columns of the containing my contribution in Gujerati [10th July 1914 and ending on local Jām.i.Jamshed, commencing from 3 Journal, Ibid. p. 379.

3 Journal, Ibid. p. 379.

II

On finding, that I was fortunate in securing these valuable volumes, I thought of studying the documents and Notes attached to the Volumes.

It is not very difficult to read the handwriting of the letters received by Anquetil, but it is very difficult to read Anquetil's hand. In some places, it requires an effort like that of deciphering an old worn out inscription. I have introduced the members of this Society to Anquetil's handwriting, in my paper read before it on 13th July, 1903, and entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." In that paper, I have given a photo facsimile of a leaf from one of the collections of Anquetil's manuscript notes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and you will see, on looking at the facsimile, that his handwriting is not such as could be easily read, at least by us foreigners, who are not versed in the French language and are not familiar with Ms. writing.

That being the case, I requested M. Daniel Levi, Consul of France, to kindly copy for me the letters and other papers in these volumes. It was of course "a large order," but he has kindly done some work, all along being inspired with the laudable aim of being of some use in the acquirement of some further knowledge about his great compatriot, who may be said to have been one of the first, if not the first, pioneers of Oriental learning in Europe. I beg to thank M. Levi for all the trouble he has kindly taken.

I was thinking of leisurely studying the documents and then submitting a paper before our Society, but am led to submit a paper, however incomplete, early. It seems that M. Daniel Levi had sent some information of the discovery of Anquetil's volumes, with a copy of some documents, to his learned father, Dr. Silvain Levi, one of our esteemed Honorary Dr. Levi communicated the news to the Société Asiatique, at its sitting of 12th June 1924. I learn from M. Daniel Levi that the discovery of the volumes, especially on account of the documents attached to them, "seems to have made quite a sensation in the Oriental world in Paris." Prof. Senart, on learning the news at the above meeting of the Société Asiatique wrote to me on the same day. Speaking of the discovery of these volumes as a "precious discovery" (la precieuse decouvert que vous avez faite), he has asked for the volumes to be sent to Paris, with a view to get all the documents photographed there So, I propose sending shortly, with the sanction of my Committee

¹ Vol. XXI, pp. 537.551.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" of the Cama Institute, these volumes to Paris on loan. before I do so, I propose showing the volumes to the members of the I of th our Society and to submit a few Notes on some of the Letters and Notes attached to the first volume 1.

One would like to trace the history of the change of hands History of the migration of these which the volumes underwent. This history volumes from Paris of the migration may be divided into three to Bombay.

- (a) The Migration from Paris to England from 1805 to
- (b) The Migration from England to Ceylon.

(c) The Migration from Ceylon to Bombay.

As to (c) I have spoken above as to how the volumes have come to my hands from Ceylon. As to (b), we have no materials to trace their coming from England, where they were upto 1852, to Ceylon. As to (a), we have sufficient materials supplied by the volumes themselves to see how they went from Paris to England. The Notes on the Volumes themselves help us to trace the history from 1805, the year of Anquetil's death, to 1866, upto which the volumes were in the hands of an English Scholar.

1 After writing the above, the Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental many to Paris I After writing the above, the Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental resolved that a copy of the Ms. Notes of Anquetil's volumes should be have done my humbles best to decipher all the notes. I have spent a have done my humble best to decipher all the notes. I have spent a doing this work with the help of a powerful number of hours and days in doing this work with the help of a powerful magnifying glass. I have given my own notes in full, and I her to sub. number of nours and days in doing this work with the help of a powerful mit, in all humility, that in the matter of the elucidation of Anquetil's concerned, I have left little undone. mit, in all numility, that in the matter of the elucidation of Anqueti's As to the other two volumes, I had entrusted the work of copying the notes to M. E. Benveneste, a promising volume French scholar, who is now As to the other two volumes, I had entrusted the work of copying the in our midst. He has kindly taken a copy of these notes. He, in his much more difficult to read than I supposed, and I had much trouble letter, dated Poona, 6th October 1924, says: "that diabolical hand is to get through it." If a French scholar has found the work of decipherment. If a Get hand is foreigner, crave indulgence for my faults—which must be many in the

We often put down our names on our books, but Anquetil The Author's own has not done so. So, in the first place, we must assure ourselves that the volumes are Anquetil's own. There are several facts to prove that. (a) For that purpose Anquetil's hand-writing is the principal criterion. Fortunately we have, as said above, in one of our Journals, a facsimile copy of his handwriting. On comparing the handwriting of the facsimile with the handwriting of the author's Notes in this volume, we easily identify both.

- (b) These volumes contain other handwritings also, here and there, especially in the beginning of the volumes and they are of the subsequent possessors of the Volumes. Some of these, writings also show that the volumes were the author's own. We read, on the very first fly-leaf, the following:—
 - "Jean Lanjuinais.... J'ai acheté cet exemplaire, à la vente de M. Anquetil Du Perron ; c'est oui ² l'exemplaire, de sa bibliothèque ; et il la enriché de ses notes."

This note shows that (a) the Volumes are the author's own copy and (b) they were purchased by Lanjuinais from the auction of M. Anquetil's property. The writer of the Note is M. Lanjuinais, the purchaser himself, and so, he wrote in the first person.

(c) Then, there is a very small slip of paper about 3 inches in length and this in breadth, attached, on the top on the right hand side, to the original Certificate of the Librarians of the Bibliothèque du Roi, above referred to, which is attached to the 3rd fly leaf of the first volume. We read thereon, in a handwriting which seems to be the same as that of the preceding note of Lanjuinais, the following:—

"Acheté 48 f. à la vente de l'auteur en 1805."

This note also shows, (a) that the volumes belonged to Anquetil, (b) and that they were purchased in auction in 1805, the very year in which Anquetil died, for 48 francs.

(d) Lastly, we read on the title-page of the first volume, the following note, which, I think, is in the hand of the subsequent purchaser Dr. Lee: "Exemplaire de l'auteur et annoté par lui,

¹ Vol. XXI, pp. 537-551.

² I am a little doubtful about this reading. The word seems to be out, i.e., indeed, or it may be "c'etait," i.e., "it was."

³ According to the exchange of the pre-war times, the cost would come to about Rs. 24.

achetéasa vente par M. Lanjuinais qui l'a aussi annoté et rempli

This Note then means to say that these volumes (a) belonged to Anquetil, (b) were annotated by him, (c) were purchased by M. Lanjuinais at Anquetil's auction, and (d) were also annotated by Lanjuinais.

As to the last observation, as far as the first volume is concerned, there seem to be no annotations by Lanjuinais. are one or two by Dr. J. Lee, to whom I refer later on.

(c) A further Note on the second page of the first fly-leaf of the first volume which is an extract from an advertisement in the oriental catalogue of a firm of Book-seller, Messrs. Howell and Stewart, also shows, that the volumes (a) were Thereinquetil's copy, (b) were sold by auction, (c) purchased therein y Lanjuinais (d) annotated by him, and (e) were again to be sold by the Booksellers. This note, written in a fair hand, seems to have been entered here by the third possessor, Dr. Lee, of whom we will speak a little later on.

Now, as to who this M. Lanjuinais who purchased the volumes from the auction of Anquetil's property Lanjuinais, who was born at Rennes in 1753 and died in Paris on his death, was, I think, that he was Jean in 1827. He was a member of the Institute. He was the author of several books on the languages and religions of Asia. He was the author Religion des Indones selon les Vedas. He was the author of a Religion des Indous selon les Vedas." He was the author of a monte of his number of other books on a variety of subjects. Most of his publications in Various quarters were collected and published in 1832, in four volumes, by his son Victor Ambroise Lanjuinais, 1

Before, proceeding further, let us consider, why these volumes passed into the hands of the Ribliothague umes did not pass into the Bibliothe auctioneer, and not into the Bibliothèque du Roi, where all of Anquetil's Mss. had que du Roi. (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque passed. We learn from Mon. E. Blochet's Nationale" (p. 1), published in 1900, that the Mss. of most of Anquetil's hand notes had gone into the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Some of his manuscripts were deposited in the Habitash than Manuscrits Mazdéens Library by Anquetil on 15th March 1762. He himself thus 1873, 10th Vol. p. 164.

¹ Grand Dictionnaire Universale du XIXe siècle par Pierre Larouse

speaks of this event: "Le lendemain, 15 Mars, je déposai à la Bibliothèque du Roi les Ouvrages de Zoroastre et les autres Manuscrits que j'avois destinés pour ce précieux Trésor."

Then some of his other manuscripts were, later on, deposited in the National Library on 2nd May 18052 i.e. three months and a half after his death, which occurred on 17th January So, the question naturally arises, why, though all his manuscripts and papers were deposited in the National Library after his death, this rare copy of his own, in which he had made some marginal and other notes and in which he had attached some appreciative letters referring to his work received by him, did not pass into the possession of the library but went into sale with some of his other possessions. I think, that the reason may be this: When somebody examined after his death all his property and selected the Mss. to be handed over to the Bibliothèque Nationale, he did not notice the documents and notes in the volumes themselves. from without, he may have found, that the volumes were, merely, a copy like many other copies of the work. He may not have examined the volumes from within, and so he did not think them worth possessing for the Bibliothèque.

It appears from what is said above, on the authority of

Why Anquetil's property all went to auction earlier.

M. Blochet's catalogue, that Anquetil's valuable Mss. &c. which were with him passed on into the Bibliothèque du Roi, on 2nd May, within about 3½ months after his death. The auction sale of the other

property must have taken place soon after. One can understand well, why Anquetil's things were sold off during the very year of his death. We learn, from what is said of him in the Dictionary of M. Larouse, that in his old age, Anquetil had grown very eccentric. One can see from the account which I have given of his travels in India, that he was a little eccentric from his very young age. That eccentricity, may have grown with age, and Larouse says, that, though reduced to much poverty in old age, he refused the help offered to him by the French Government and by some learned Societies of France, and he moved about in such a miserable condition, that passersby took him for a beggar.

This being the case, it is possible that some of the ordinary retail trade business men whose debts he may have incurred

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. cccclxxvii.

² Blochet's Catalogue p. 2.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" for Pretty little things of food &c. may have forced his property to be sold off by auction. I think, that the price, 48 france, is to be sold on by auction. Thunk, that the Place, so mades, is their halomains to the outlook limeals what the question of their belonging to the author himself. That the original cost price must be very high appears from what we will see later on, that two scholars had borrowed these volumes from a subthat two scholars had borrowed these volumes how a succeeding purchaser. This was the case volumes how a succeeding to him them at a high price. could not afford to buy them at a high price.

From two notes, one on the first fly-leaf, and another at the top of the first page of the second volume, Lanjuinnis to we find that in 1828, i.e., twenty-three years · those of Dr. Lee. afterward, the Volumes were again put out for sale by Book-sellers, Howell and Stewart,

nais. We read the following note on the first fly leaf, which is a copy of the title-page of Anquetil's printed work: most probably at the instruction of Lanjui-

les Idées Théologiques, Physiques, et Morales de contenant la Cérémoniae du Culta Religionea on il a établi, et lateur, les Cérémonies du Culte Religieuse qu'il a établi, et Histoire des plusieurs Traits importants relatifs á l'Ancienne Histoire des Perses, traduit un portants telains a l'ancienne des remarques, se accommons de ministère missère des Remarques, de l'ancienne moisée à éclaimie les mossères en l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de mossères en l'ancienne de l'ancienn et accompagné de plusieurs Traitése à éclaireir les matières qui contenant en sont l'object, pars Anquetil Du Perron. 4 3 Vols. "The author's own copy, plates, very neat. £7-17-6. Lond.

"Exemplaire de l'auteur, et annotée par lui, acheté à 23 vente par M. Languinais, 6 qui la 'a aussi annoté et rempli des ses notes." "Ms. Note. It contains two additional maps in the Ms. by the author, besides his alterations &c., and also many letters addressed to him on the subject of the work, from eminent orientalists, with his remarks on them.

casing that either the hook collections may have not this note

It seems that either the book-sellers may have put this note been omitted here by mistake.

¹ Two words "en François" which we find on the title-page have Seen omitted were of musiciae.
2 The word "propress" as given in Anguetil's title page, is omitted.

Then follow the words of the Book sellers. 5 Then follow the words of the Book-gellers.
5 The year 1771 is the year, given on the title page, as the year of the book-gellers.
5 The year 1771 is the year, given on the title page, as the year of the by the Book-gellers for Paris, or was intentionally though who the year, of the fourth latter of the name as 'a' in place of 'J.'

⁸ We find here the fourth letter of the name as 'g' in place of 'f'.

on the book, copying it from their catalogue to identify it with what was stated in their catalogue or the next purchaser may have written it to note the importance of the work. The latter seems to me to be the case. The price mentioned £7-17-6 draws our attention and confirms my above stated inference, that the sale of Anquetil's property, where the volumes fetched only 24 francs was a hasty one.

The second short note on the first page of the second leaf runs: "Messrs. Howell and Stewart. December 24, 1828." This note seems to have been written by the next purchaser to say, that he bought these volumes from the book-sellers, named therein, on 24th December 1828. We saw above, that M. Lanjuinais died in 1827. So, it seems that, on his death, the volumes were placed by his heirs at the above book-sellers to be sold by them, and so they advertised the sale in their catalogue. The number 4299 seems to be the running number of this catalogue.

It seems that these volumes then passed from Lanjuinais through the above book-sellers, to the hands of Dr. Lee. There is a note on the top of the second page of the second fly-leaf which runs thus:

"Lent to Mr. Cullimore.....returned,
"also to Daniel Sharpe, Esq.....Returned 13th May

Then, there is a letter attached to the first page of the second fly leaf from the above Mr. Daniel Sharpe of "2-Adelphi Terrace¹ 13th May" to Dr. Lee. The letter is dated 13th May and the year is not given. But it appears from the previous note, wherein the return of the book is noted, that it was 1841. The letter runs as follows:—

2, ADELPHI TERRACE, 13TH MAY.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot return your Books without begging you to accept my best thanks for the kind loan of them. They have been of the greatest use to me which has been the cause of my keeping them so very long.

Dr. Lee, London 2

Yours very truly, DANIEL SHARPE.

² The word here may be read "London" but the reading is uncertain.

The name is followed by a letter which looks like E.

¹ Adelphi Terrace, is a part of London near the Strand, which was first turned into a terrace in or about 1768, by the architect brothers, John and Robert Adam (Cunningham's Handbook of London (1849) (Vol. I. p. 3.)

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Though the above letter has nothing to do directly with Anquetil Du Perron, it shows, that Anquetil's work began to be Anqueth Du Ferron, it snows, that Anqueth s work began to be appreciated also by scholars other than Iranian, and, as the writer says, it was found to be "of great use." here, who the above three personages were. We will examine

There were several personages of the name of Dr. Lee at the the name on the volumes. (a) in the first volume, we find the name on the back of the right hand cover as "J. Lee Doctors of the right hand cover as "J. Lee Doctors of the first fi time of which we find Ms. notes in Anquetil's the name on the back of the right hand cover as of the second volume we read . "I Lee Hartwell." Lee Doctors fly-leaf Volumes. (a) In the first volume, we find Commons 1828." (b) On the second page of the first fly-leaf of the first fly-leaf of the first fly-leaf of the third wolume we read. "J. Lee Hartwell." (c) On the or the second volume, we read:

Second page of the first fly-leaf of the third volume, we read:

Taking into consideration there is marked in Second page of the first fly-leaf of the third volume, we read:

the Volumes, I think, that this Dr. Lee is Dr. John Lee, who

lived from 1783 to 1866.1 He was a collector of antiquities. the volumes, 1 think, that this Dr. Lee is Dr. John Lee, who I took his Doctor of antiquities. He took his Doctorate (L. L. D.) at Cambridge in 1816. His original name was Fiott, as he was the eldest son of John Flott. But he took the name of Lee under the will of his maternal uncle, as no react as one of the travallar. William Lee. He travelled in the East as one of the travelling Ha had againsed William Lee. He travelled in the East as one or the traveling bachelors of his University from 1807 to 1810. He had acquired on his return, he various or mis University from 180% to 1810. He had acquired resumed his study of Law and in 1815 was admitted as a member resumed his study of Law and in 1815 was admitted as a member of Advocatae Homeonical in Foolagie etical of the college of Advocates. He practised in Ecclesiastical of the sum of the college of Advocates. He practised in Ecclesiastical Of the college of Advocates. He practised in Ecclesiastical To 1820 he hnilt an observatory in Courts, and hence it is, that we mad nim adding after ms name this Hart. This reference explains the name "Hart." his Hartwell House. This reference explains the name "Harthis Hartwell House. This reference explains the name his name as his place of residence. He had ioined the Royal his name, as his place of residence. He had joined the Royal Astronomical Society and was appointed its President in 1862. Astronomical Doclety and was appointed its President in 1002. ino or nominating to a vacant hand fine or living in the Church) ing or nominating to a vacant benefice or living in the Church)

Hadied on 95th Fahrmary 1866 leaving no issue of Hartwell. He died on 25th February 1866, leaving no issue.

No his property "paged to his brother Rev Nicholas Fiots. of Hartwell. He died on 25th Hebruary 1800, leaving no issue.

So, his property "passed to his brother Rev. Nicholas Fiott who assumed the sumame of Lee."

¹ Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sydney Lee (1892)

Vol. XXXII p. 362.

2 "Doctors' Commons", was "a Society of Ecclesiastical lawyers in the title of "The College of Doctors of Law." Those who had taken the civil and took

Degree of Doctors of Law." Those who had taken the nadmitted as the title of "The College of Doctors of Law." Those who had taken the advocates by the Archbishop of Canterbury and admitted in this College. Degree of Doctors of Law at Oxford or Cambridge were then admitted as The College has been now dissolved, the Ecclesiastical Courts having been advocates by the Archbishop of Canterbury and admitted in this College. The College has been now dissolved, the Ecclesiastical Courts having been to the whole Bar (Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed. Vol. 7 thrown open to the whole Bar (Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed. Vol. 7

The above said Hartwell house was in Buckinghamshire and it had a large library of books on Law and Theology.

Thus the mention of "Hartwell" and "Doctors Commons" shows, that out of several Dr. Lees, it was this Dr. John Lee who had possessed these volumes.

Now, as this Dr. John Lee died in 1866, it seems probable that the volumes may have remained with him in England upto 1866. He had left no issue; so, his property had passed to his brother Rev. Nicholas Fiott, who assumed the surname of Lee.

The Cullimore referred to in the volumes seems to be Isaac Cullimore, an Irishman, who was born in. 1791 and died in 1852. He was one of the Orientalists of the first rank of his time. Egyptology was his special line of study. He made use of astronomy in fixing dates of important events in Ancient History. From 1842, he had begun issuing plates of cylinders and seals from the collection of Sir William Ousley and Dr. Lee. This fact explains, why Cullimore had come into contact with Dr. Lee and why he had borrowed Anquetil's volumes from Dr. Lee.

Mr. Cullimore's name is referred to again three times in these volumes. We find it in the beginning of each volume. For example, a Note, most probably in the hand of Dr. Lee, refers to him on the top of the first page of the second leaf. It reads. "Papers marked by Mr. Cullimore with papers. XVIII. 18 Errata

Discours Préliminaire. CCCXVIII. 318
CCCCLXXX. 480
CCCCLXXXIV. 484

It seems, that Mr. Cullimore may have, in his study of the volumes, noticed what seemed to be some important matter on particular pages, which, he, in order to draw the attention of Dr. Lee, marked with pieces of paper. Lest the slips of papers may be lost, Dr. Lee seems to have put down in the form of a Note, the numbers of the marked pages. We find similar notes on the 2nd fly-leaves of the second and third Volumes. The numbers of pages seem to have been originally marked by Dr. Lee in Arabic numbers. Latterly, he or some body else, has given the pages in Roman numbers. The reason seems to be, that

¹ Dictionary of National Biography by Leslie Stephen (1888) Vol. XIII p. 282.

Anquetil has marked all the pages of his first volume entitled Volume was as it wars in Roman numbers. The first Volume was, as it were, an Introduction, and Introductions 75 generally bear such Roman numbers. Being an Introduction, it was Published after the second volume, as said by Anquetil in the commencement of his Errata (p. XVIII of the 1st set of pages). Now, the fact of the pages being marked both, in Roman figures and Arabic figures, seems to have led somebody to make a remark written crosswise, on the right hand margin of the first page of the second leaf of the 1st volume questioning the propriety of doing so. The writer says: "Qu.1 What does this mean? The author never observed the difference between Roman and Arabic numerals." The writer of the Observations has put his initial 'R' under the observation.

This initial 'R' may turn out to be of some use in tracing

Now, as to why Cullimore drew the attention of Dr. Lee to the particular pages of Anquetil's first volume, we are not in a position to speak positively. Perhaps, he had given his reason in an accompanying letter which Dr. Lee did not attach here. However, I beg to suggest the reasons for the references in the first Volume, why Cullimore may have drawn the particular attention of Dr. Lee to the above pages.

- P. XVIII Errata. Here, Anquetil says, that he at first thought, of writing a Discourse about 60 to 80 pages, and that he proposed publishing only one Volume. The Discourse grew to more than 500 pages and the Errata itself occupied 19 closely printed pages. This was extraordinary and was perhaps thought worth drawing attention to.
- P. CCCXVIII Discourse. Here Anquetil states how different Mss. of the Vendidad differed and agreed, and he refers to a promise which Dastur Darab had made of producing a Ms. promise which pasted paragraph and made of producing a missimilar to that possessed by Muncherjee, the broker of the Dutch factory at Surat. So, perhaps Collimore wanted to draw the attention of Dr. Lee, to this fact of the Mss. of the Vendidad differing a good deal. Perhaps, this has some bearing on the question of doubts thrown on the authenticity of the Zend-Avesta books, as discovered by Anquetil. We know that William (afterward Sir William) Jones had, in his vehement letter to Anquetil shown this doubt and had thought that the Zend Avesta books were a fabrication of the Indian Dasturs.

P. CCCCLXXX. Here, the statement drawing particular attention is that about priests reciting the whole Zend Avesta by heart, without understanding the meaning.

P. CCCCLXXXIV. Here, Anquetil explains the plan of his work, and says that he wants to present himself only as a translator, and, the most, as a historian, without passing judgments. .This plan he says, may not be approved by others. Cullimore perhaps wanted to draw Dr. Lee's attention to this statement.

Daniel Sharpe seems to be the geologist, Daniel Sharpe, who was born in 1806 and died in 1856. Though 3 Daniel Sharpe, a great student of geology, he was also a student of philology and archaeology and worked in the line of. the decipherment of inscriptions. Anguetil has given a number of inscriptions in his work, e.g., three plates of Inscriptions of writing passed by the King of Malabar in favour of the Jews.1

Irrespective of his philological and archaeological studies, perhaps he may have tried to look into Anquetil's works from his geological point of view. It may appear strange, why he, a geologist should read and like Anquetil's book on the Iranians, but, like all good scientists, he perhaps wanted to know the views, however crude they may appear to us, of the ancients about the early creation. For example, the 1st and 2nd chapters of the Vendidad may have interested him from a geographical point of view. In the 18th century, India was known to European Scholars, more from the books of travellers. Now, Anquetil not only describes his long tour in India, but always gives references to other writers. For example, in the second Volume (Tome I partie 1 p. 270 n.1), Anquetil gives a list of some of the writers on India. Among them one writes on the climates of India, a subject which should interest a geologist. Again, Anquetil himself speaks on various subjects referring to India. So his volumes contained, here and there, some subjects which might interest geologists.

The above note of the Booksellers dated 24th December 1828,

Probable Conclusion, as to the Migration of the volumes.

the above letter to Dr. Lee dated 13th May 1841 and the above few particulars about Dr. Lee, lead us to say, that Anquetil's Volumes left France in 1828 and went into the hands of Howell and Stewart, Booksellers of England, who

^{1 &}quot;Inscription en ancien Tamoul, renferment les Priviléges accordés aux Juifs, il y a environ mille ans par Scharan Peroumal, Empereur de la Côte Malabae." (Plate 1 after p. CLXX, Tome I, Zend Avesta).

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" advertised for sale, as said above, in their "Oriental Catalogue." Dr. Lee may have purchased them from these booksellers in subjects. The died in 1966 and it cooms purchased the prosecuted his studies on Oriental some year after 1020, when he prosecuted his sounces on Otherwal manners of the docth Subjects. Dr. Lee died in 1500 and it seems probable that the We saw above that they were with him upto the year of his death.

they were with him upto May 1841 when areast scholar as they were returned to him by Daniel Sharpe. A great scholar as he was, he could not have parted with the volumes in his life time. So, the volumes must have remained with him in England upto 1866. Then they must have remained with minimal engined of his heather Roy Wishelse Right who on Dr. Too's doct. of his brother Rev. Nicholas Fiott, who on Dr. Lee's death assumed the name of Lee.

Now, there remains the question of the migration of the Volumes from England (Buckinghamshire) to Colombo in Chowksey I am told by Mr. Chowksey that the Owner does not Chowksey, I am told by Mr. Chowksey that the owner does not Well remember how the volumes came to his hands. I have heard nothing further. I have written to Mr. De Saram again last week.

After writing the above, I heard further from Mr. Leslie De Saram. In his letter dated Colombo 19th April 1924, he said Saram. In his letter dated Colombo Lath April 1924, he said hooks sing I was a how certainty. I have been collecting I have been collecting books sine I was a boy.....I have been conecting narcels of books at anotion solar for the gale of frequently bought parcels of books at auction sales for the sake of one or two of parcers of books at auction sales for the sake of one of the volumes Contained therein. The volumes I gave your may have Institute must have come to me in that way, or they may have been originally in the library of a great uncle of mine, Charles Ambrose Lorenz, who was a scholar and a book-lover. In any case I have very little idea of how the volumes came into my possession. So, it seems, no useful purpose would be served by speculation on the point. However, it is a source of gratification to me that the volumes should have found a suitable home. specification on one point. However, to is a source of grantical and that the volumes should have found a suitable home of the point intersected and hear annihilated him won in

and that they have interested and been appreciated by you." Then I had the pleasure of going to Ceylon from Madras, Then I had the pleasure of going to Ceylon from magras, to attend there, as a delegate of this and two other Societies, When at Colombo. I had the the third Oriental Conference. When at Colombo, I had the pleasure of having a long interview with Mr. Leslie de Saram on pleasure of having a long interview with Mr. Leslie de paramon this long conversation Mr. Do Saram mantioned the name of this long conversation, Mr. De Saram mentioned the name of two Laa's (father and son) as having been in Colombo for some. two Lee's (father and son) as having been in Colombo for some time. Mr. de Saram knew nothing of my having traced the

transfer of the volumes from Anquetil's house to Dr. Lee of Buckinghamshire. So this sudden casual mention by him of the Lee's at Colombo pleased me very much as supplying a further clue for tracing the migration of Anquetil's volumes from England to Ceylon. I give below the result of my above very interesting and instructive conversation with Mr. De Saram and of some subsequent further study of the question of the transfer of the volumes to Colombo.

There was in Ceylon one George Lee as Post-master General. He was the translator of a French book. Mr. De Saram kindly gave me the book for perusal and I found its title-page as follows:

"The History of Ceylon."

Presented by Captain John Rebeyro to the King of Portugal in 1685.

Translated from the Portuguese, by the Abbe Le Grand.

Re-translated from the French Edition with an Appendix containing Chapters illustrative of the Past and Present condition of the Island by George Lee,

Post-master General of Ceylon.

Fellow of the Universal Statistical Society of France, &c., &c.

Ceylon.

Published at the Government Press, Colombo, 1847."

A few particulars of this George Lee, as given in "Ceylon, by Plate Ld." (p. 84) are as follows: 1

"George Lee. Date of Appointment, 30th November 1844. Date, when left Ceylon, 1st September 1859."

Now, the question is who was this George Lee? Was he any way connected with Dr. John Lee, in whose hand Anquetil's volumes had passed and who died in 1866. Or was he any way related to the brother of the above Dr. John Lee, Rev. Nicholas (Fiott) Lee to whom all the property—and, in that, possibly the three volumes of Anquetil—of Dr. John Lee passed. We find nothing further than what we find from the above title page, viz., that he was in Colombo in 1847.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Chowksey for kindly showing me the book and giving me particulars about him and his son.

Again this George Lee had a son named Frederick Lee who was in the Civil Service of Ceylon. The Civil List of Ceylon gives the following particulars about him: "Date of Appointment, 10th June 1864.

We do not find any further particulars about these two Lees. $D_{ied\ 4th}\ D_{ecember\ 1899.}$ ", We are not, in any way, sure that they were in any way related, and, if related, how, to the above Dr. John Lee or to latea, ana, il relatea, now, to the above Dr. John Lee or to on transic length was many talks it that these two Lease for the contrary is known, we may take it that these two Lees, father and son, were, probably in some way, related to the above R_{ev} Nicholas Lee W_{ev} and then and son, were, propably in some way, related to the above account for the mioration of the volumes from D_r . We can then Dr. John Lee or ins brother, Kev. Nicholas Lee. We can then Hartwall Hone, in Runkinghamshire to Colombo. We can then Hartwell House in Buckinghamshire to Colombo.

Again the fact that George Lee knew well French, so as to translate a book from French into English, shows the likelihood of there being some connection between the brother Lees of Buckinghamshire and Lee's father and son of Ceylon.

Then arises the question, how the volumes passed into the Raram from the Lee family of Colombo hands of Mr. Leslie De Saram from the Volumes passed into the consideration of this onestion a few facts about the

Hands of Mr. Leslie De Daram Irom the Lee Iamily of Colombo.

For the consideration of this question, a few facts about the family brindly communicated to me by Mr. de history of the family, kindly communicated to me by Mr. de

Charles Ambrose Lorenz of Ceylon, mentioned by Mr. Leslie

De Saram in his above mentioned letter to me dated De Saram in in sabove mentioned letter to me dated 19th August 1924, was the son of a Prussian officer in the Dutch salar random of the salar random August 1924, was the son of a Prussian officer in the Dutch Roth he and his wife Mrs Lorenz knew French abstraction. India Company's service. He was of French abstraction.

Both he and his wife, Mrs. Lorenz, knew French very well. He

mother of Mr. De Saram The Both he and his wife, Mrs. Lorenz, knew french very well. He lady was taken to be an accomplished French scholar whose Was the Paternal uncle of the mother of Mr. De Saram. The Lorenzes were very friendly with the above Lees of Colombo Lorenzes were very friendly with the above Lees of Colombo.

Calchritics (n. 50) it is said of this Charles Lorenzes were very menaly with the above Lees of Colombo. Ambrose Lorenz that he lived from 1829 to 1870. Charles Ambrose Lorenz that he lived from 1829 to 1870.

According to Mr. De Saram, it is likely that the book passed into the hands of his mother's uncle, Charles Ambrose Lorenz (1829-1870) from the hands of the elder Lee who was in Cevlon from 1844 to 1859 the hands of the elder Lee who was in Ceylon from 1844 to 1859.

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But there is another probability. Dr. John Lee lived upto But there is another probability. Dr. John Lee nyea upto probable, that a good scholar as he was,

he may have kept the volumes with him upto his death, it is probable, that they passed into the hands of his brother, and it is from this brother that they may have passed into the hands of the junior Lee, and then they passed from his hands, when he died in 1899, to the hands of Leslie De Saram, either by presentation, as the families were in close friendly relations. or by purchase in an auction, as he was, as said in his above letter, fond of collecting books from a boyish age.

Anyhow, my visit to Ceylon and my conversation with Mr. Leslie De Saram, wherein he casually mentioned the name of the Lee's have helped me to be in a position to say that the volumes probably passed from the Lee's of Buckinghamshire to the Lee's of Colombo and that they passed into the hands of the family of M. De Saram or of Mr. de Saram himself, either by presentation, the two families being friendly, or by purchase from an auction sale of Mr. Lee, the son.)

IV

Certificate and Notes in the first volume.

After examining the notes in the first volume, made by hands other than Anquetil's which trace the history of the migration of the volumes from Paris to Colombo, we will now examine the first volume in the following order.

- 1. The important letter attached to the first fly-leaf of the first volume.
- 2. Anquetil's MS. notes on slips of paper attached to various papers, and of the pages of the volumes.
- 3. The marginal notes of the volume.

The Certificate of the Librarians.

We will first examine a document on which a slip of paper containing six notes is gummed. It is a very important document. It is an original certificate of the two librarians of the Bibliothèque du Roi, by which name the Bibliothèque Nationale was then known. We will see, what this certificate is for, and why Anquetil has attached so much importance to it, and why he has preserved it, gumming it on a fly-leaf of his very first volume.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE!" Unfortunately for Anquetil, he had as it were enemies, or, more properly for Anqueti, he had as it were enemies, or, Ac to heatile oritics at home as well as abroad. As to hostile critics abroad, they arose after the appearance of his work on the Zend-Avesta in 1771. The first and the most powerful among these was William Jones, a young Oxonian the foundar of the Rangel most powerful among these was william Jones, a young Oxonian Asiatia Society William Jones, the founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Fired by what seemed to him to be rather a Asiatic Society. Mica by What seemed to mm to be rather a Scholere hat took in sold on their habelf. I made not dwell Scholars, he took up endgels on their behalf. I need not dwell Scholars, he took up enagels on their benau.

long on the subject, as I have referred to it in my paper on the simply enry that no doubt

Anquetil before this Society, but simply say, that no doubt, Anquetil was generally a little rough in his manners. Now, leaving aside the question of his later critics abroad, find that he had hostile critics at home raised also narhans

We find that he had hostile critics, at home, raised also perhaps We find that he had nostile critics, at nome, raised also pernaps by his rough way of asserting himself. I say, perhaps, because no materials herom us to say anything emphatically We have no materials before us to say anything emphatically. Perhaps, the cause may be some pretty jealousies, which we see what we have the doubtes. Anonotile necestion that he was the first Were thrown upon Anquetil's assertion, that he was the first Were thrown upon Anquett s assertion, that he was the history of the produce, and bring to notice, the Zend Avesta and then in Paris. I will first give here the above certificates and then

"Je soussigné, Garde des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque on vra cons le nom de du Roi, certifie que les seuls ouvrages connus sous le nom de maintanant la Ribliothèque du Roi. au Kol, certine que les seuls ouvrages connus sous le nom de sont les Livres Zends et Pahlvis ani vont été dénosée du Roi, Zoroastre, que possede maintenant la Bibnotneque du Roi, Amanotii Du Perroni le 15 Mars 1762; et ane le n'ai point oui Sont les Livres Zends et l'emvis, qui y ont ete deposes par Anguetil Du Perroni le 15 Mars 1762; et que je n'ai point oui onter ente. dire qu'on y en ait jamais vu d'autres, ni que M. Otter eut commence la traduction d'aucun Manuscrit de A Paris le 26 Avril 1770. ce genre.

Avril 1770.

J'atteste la même chose ; à la Binliothèque du Roi, le 2 26

Translation.—I the undersigned, the keeper of the Manu-Translation.—1 the undersigned, the keeper of the King's Library, certify that the only works, 1 These underlined words are written in the margin with the usual for the letter, to show that they were 1 These underlined words are written in the margin with the usual omitted at first. They are written by the letter, to show that they were both there and in the body of the letter, to show are written by the same hand.

omitted at first. They are written by the same nana.

2 Anquetil who has given the word as 'ce, certificate in his Zend Avesta (Vol. I and the name with three in its Zend here also.)

known under the name of Zoroaster, which the King's Library possesses at present, are the Zend and Pehlvi books, which have been deposited there by M. Anquetil du Perron (on) the 15th March 1762; and that I have neither heard it said, that anybody has ever seen others, nor that M. Otter had commenced the translation of any manuscript of this kind. At Paris the 26th April 1770.

Bejot.

I certify the same thing; at the Library of the King.

26th April 1770.

Capperonnier.

Both the signatories were known scholars of the time and I will speak of them here.

François Bejot was born at Montdidier in 1718 and died at
Paris in 1787. He was at first Professor
of Greek in the Bibliothèque du Roi and
he had prepared the catalogue of this Library. He was a
member of the Académie des Inscriptions. He was, latterly,
also appointed a Professor at the College of France.

Jean Capperonnier was born in 1716 and died in 1775.

He was a Professor in the College of France.

At first, he was employed on ordinary

Literary work in the Bibliothèque du Roi, where he latterly
became its Librarian. He was a member of the Académie
des Inscriptions. He was the author of several learned works.

The Capperonnier's were a learned family.

This certificate is quoted by Anquetil in his book of the Zend Avesta (Vol. I Part I pp. 500-501). So, at the bottom of this letter, we find a Note in his own hand, saying "Voy. a la fin de ce Vol. P. DI." This is a reference to his first volume of Zend-Avesta, containing the Preliminary Discourse, where, while referring to the subject, he has quoted the letter in full. Anquetil seems to have attached great importance to this certificate, and, so, after quoting it in his book, he seems to have preserved it by attaching it to a fly-leaf of his own copy.

¹ i.c., see (voyez) at the end of this Volume p. 501.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Now, as to why he was led to give importance to such a certifi-Now, as to way ne was led to give importance to such a certinmatter ac given in the realiminary discourse of his work. matter as given in the preliminary discourse of his work.

According to Anquetil's statement, he wrote from Surat on 4th A_{nmil} 1750 to M le C_{nmte} de C_{nvlne1} and to Tome I Partie I April 1759 to M. le Comte de Caylusi and to p. CCCCXCLX. M. l'Abbé Barthelemy and announced that he fargard (chapter) of the Vendidad was finished. His letter must had commenced translating the Zend Avesta have arrived in Paris at the end of the year 1759. In a letter must 1760, M. le Comte de Cavhas expresses books and that the translation of the first to him, dated 10th March 1760, M. le Comte de Caylus expresses his pleasure on hearing the news, and says, that by the appearance of his book, all the news, and says, that by the appearance in his travals in India will he recommenced by the hardship and troubles that he had ance of his book, at the nardship and troubles that he had the hard will be recompensed. Now, and the hard in Dome a distinguish and it Distinguish in the hard in Down and it Distinguish in the hard in suffered in his travels in India will be recompensed. Now, Historique Portatif, a dictionary, entitled a Dictionary, there appeared another pen of M. l'Abbe Ladvocat. In 1755, there was no mention at all of any hook of these editions, there was no mention at all of any book of Jordaster having come to Paris, or of having been deposited in the Royal Library or of any attempt of translating it. But in the third edition of that dictionary published in 1760 i.e., in the third edition of that dictionary published in the year next after that in which Anquetil announced to his read and the Zond in the year next after that in which Anquetu announced to use Avesta books and had commenced translating them, there existed in the Royal appeared a passage, saying that there existed in the Royal Appeared a passage, saying that there existed in the Royal that late M Ottor had commonced translating it. but finding the late M. Otter, had commenced translating it, but finding, he had discontinued his that it contained many fables, he had discontinued his work.

1 He was born in Paris in 1692 and died in 1765. He was an archaelorus who had travelled in the East. He had made efforts in Asia Minor to I He was born in Paris in 1692 and died in 1765. He was an archwolodiscover the ruins of Troy. He was helped in his work by Abbé Barthe. gist who had travelled in the East. He had made efforts in Asia Minor to lemv. He was Bishopoof Auxerre (the ancient Aulissiodurum) in Franco discover the ruins of Troy. Ho was helped in his work by Abbé Barthe. Which had a seminary for religious learning. He had called Anquetil to lomy. He was Bishop of Auxerre (the ancient Aulissiodurum) in France this town for study in his boyhood. Anquetil refers to him, more than which had a seminary for religious learning. He had called Anquetil to once, in the Preliminary Discourse of his work on Zend Avesta. He speaks this town for study in his boyhood. Anquetil refers to him, more than of him and M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes as his natrons ("protectages) of him and M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes as his patrons ('protecteurs,' temple of Jogeshri in the Salsette (Ibid. p. 390 n.). He has taken a note to him an idol, which he had taken away, or rather stolen, from the caveof this presentation on the margin (A mon retour je l'ai donné à M. C. de of this presentation on the Salsette (Ibid. p. 390 n.). He has taken a note Caylus). He also mentions both the above personams with a M. C. de of this presentation on the margin (A mon retour je l'ai donné à M. C. de for his having been presented with a telescope which he regrets he could not make use of in India in a great solar eclipse of 30th December 1758. for his having been presented with a telescope which he regrets he could (Ibid. p. 316). It will be interesting to know where the above idel presented with a telescope which he regrets he could interesting to know where the above idel presented presented with a telescope which he regrets he could be interesting to know where the above idel presented presented with a telescope which he regrets he could be interesting to know where the above idel presented presented with a telescope which he regrets he could be interesting to know where the above idel presented presented with a telescope which he regrets he could be interesting to know where the above idel presented presented presented with a telescope which he regrets he could be interesting to know where the above idel presented presen not make use of in India in a great solar eclipse of 30th December 1758.

sented by Anquetil to Comte de Caylus is at present.

Now, this was an attempt to discredit the adventure of Anquetil and to deprive him of the credit of taking to France, for the first time, the work of Zoroaster and of being its first translator. Anquetil took it, that the statement which did not occur in the first two editions, was given by the author M. L'Abbé Ladvocat, who was then the Librarian of the Library of Serbonne in the third edition, after the above referred to announcement in 1759 to the above mentioned scholars in Paris, viz., that he was translating the works of Zoroaster and that, that was done with a view to deprive him of his proper credit. At first, he says, he did not think it necessary to take notice of this matter, advanced without proofs, as such matters ordinarily fill up abridged dictionaries like that of the Librarian of the Serbonne. Again, he says, that it was known that the author of the dictionary was very little careful about the correctness of his statements and rarely took the trouble of resorting to original sources for his statements. But, later on, he thought that his silence was likely to be misunderstood. Again, the mis-statement was carelessly reported by other authors. new Dictionary, published in Amsterdem (Rouen), under the name of Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique-Portatif, in 1769, had repeated the above mis-statement. Again in 1770, it was repeated, in the words of the above mentioned l'Abbé Ladvocat by the author of "de la Philosophie de la Nature" (Vol. I, p. 112 n. a). So, Anquetil thought it necessary to contradict the statement. First of all, he assured himself, that in the Royal Library there existed no book attributed to Zoroaster, as misstated by l'Abbé Ladvocat, and to announce the fact publicly, he got the above mentioned certificate from the two custodians of the Library. In his Zend Avesta, besides publishing the certificate, he advances three more points to prove that the statement of l'Abbé Ladvocat was wrong and says at the end 1:-

"Ces quatre points établis d'une manière incontestable, menent à la consequence suivante; sçavoir, que les Livres Zends et Pehlvis, que j'ai déposés à la Bibliotheque du Roi, le 15 Mars 1762, sont les premiers, les seuls, Manuscrits de ce genre, les seuls ouvrages de Zoroastre, qu'on y ait jamais vus; et que je suis le premier en France, qui aye pensé à enrichir ma Patrio de ces Ouvrages, à les traduire, comme je suis le premier en Europe qui aye appris les Languages dans lesquels ils sont écrits."

¹ Tome I, p. 1, p. 502.

² The italicized words are italicized by Anquetil.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" It appears from a very badly written slip of paper, attached With some other papers, to the first page of the second that the meetion fly-leaf of the 2nd Vol. (Tome I, Partie 2), that the second and over after the had not died out even after this certificate and even after the Publication of Anquetil's Zend Avesta. I give below the read-Publication of Anquetu's Zena Avesta. I give velow the reacing and translation of Anquetil's Notes on this slip of paper. so far as it can be read:

(a) The first note which is very badly written reads thus,

"M. Bigot m'a dit a l'Acad. que des professeurs de l'Acad. lui avaient dit que les livres de Zor. etaient a le Bibliot. du Roi avant que je les nyies de cor. etaient à le didiot. du ron les Messis. des Chret. ont...été contre moi aussi an. il y a Messis, a la.....du Roi qui

(b) Another Note just below the above, over the same slip, equally badly written, says: pas nous

J'ai dit la chose à M. de Gingnes 1

notin un nonfaccoun de l'Acad de qui m'a repondu : Lundi

notin un nonfaccoun de l'Acad de qui m'a repondu : Lundi matin un professeur de l'Acad. de que chez 1 quelqu'un avait dit que Contes des Inscriptions de la Bibliothèque du Roi peu d'qu'il.....qu'avant que j'eusse apporté les que que du Roi la Ribliothèmia du Roi que que de la Ribliothèmia du Roi ouvres de Zoroastre, ils etaient déjà à la Bibliothèque du Roi. m'a dit a l'audi-M. De Gingnes lui dit.....voila M. Bigot (a l'audience)

And the corresponding to the control of Vous allez voire que cela est faux; ils qui la afferme.

Contre moi.... ve que cera eve un cuez le munistre qui ra contre a m'aneantir. que cela été dit chez le Ministre à M. Bijot

1. He was Joseph de Guignes, a great Orientalist, who knew Chinese. at the College of France and was the custodian of Antiquities at Louvre. He was born at Pontoise in 1721 and died in 1800. He was a professor Histoire Générale and was the custodian of Antiquities at Pontoise in 1759 he published a member of the study of the history of the Artiquities at Louvre. Chinese civilization had its origin in Egyptian colonization—a theory. Chinese civilization had its origin in Egyptian colonization—a resubmitted with vicin even nore than 150 years had not died out theory that Bathelemy, a co-examiner now. M. De Guignes was with Anquetil before its publication of the Academic of the Aphé of Anquetil before its publication. (Vide for their certificate).

We see from this Note, that the question had not died out, and that, now and then, doubts were raised, as to whether Anquetil was the first to carry the books of Zoroaster to France. From what Anquetil says at the end, it seems, that he felt, that some hostile critics wanted to ruin his reputation. All this explains why Anquetil attached great importance to this certificate and gummed it to his first volume.

In this connection, one may read with advantage the extracts given by Anquetil on the unnumbered page between the 36th page of the Errata and the first page of the "Discours Préliminaire" given under the heading, "Extrait des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres" and signed by the "Secrétaire pérpétual" and the "syndic."

V.

Manuscript Notes on the fly-leaves of the First Volume.

The very first set of Notes is that on a piece of paper, gummed on the original certificate which is referred to later on, which is attached to the first page of the third fly-leaf of the first Volume. It is marked as "Vol. I, No. 1" at the bottom by a hand other than that of Anquetil's. At the top, there is a passage in Latin which runs thus:

De inscriptionibus Palmyrenis quae in Museo Capitolino The Note referadservantur interpretandis epistola F. ring to Palmyra Augustini Antonii Georgii Eremitae August-Inscriptions. iniani ad eruditissimum virum Nicol.. Canonicum Fogginum Corsinianae Bibliothecae praefecto. Romae 1782. in 8° 176 P.

(Translation).

Letter of the Augustinian Hermit,² Brother Augustine Antony George, on the interpretation of the Palmyra inscriptions, which are preserved, in the Capitoline Museum, to the most learned Nicolas, Canon of Fogginum, Prefect of the Corsinian Library. Rome 1782. in S° 176 P.

^{1.} I give the correct reading and translation as kindly done for me by Father R. Zimmermann, Professor of Sanskrit in St. Xavier's College.

² The order of Augustinian Hermits referred to here, was a monastic order among the Roman Catholics which claimed to have originated from St. Augustine. This order was known as the Augustin Cannons. It was properly founded in the 11th century. They are expected to follow what is called "the Rule of Augustine." The Rule briefly is "that

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE"

The Palmyra Inscriptions referred to here, have been found Thein the ruins of the once very famous city Inscriptions. Bible (I Kings IX, 18; 2 Chronicles VIII, 4) it is spoken of as changed from the of Palmyra which is spoken of in these Inscriptions themselves as Tamar. In the Tadmor, which is said to be a later form, changed from the Original Tamar. It is said, that at first, it was Tamar in Kings IN 18. The city is said to have been first built by Solo mon. It flourished for centuries as a great emporium of trade. Palmyra is its later Greek and Latin name. It had a large temple dedicated to the Sun. The temple had 390 columns out of which 60 were found when its ruins were first discovered out of which 60 were found when its runs were first discovered Notes on the Pahlavi Treatise of Darakht-i Asurik" 2. I have snow, that the Pahlavi "Shatra Asurik" 2. I have hairra khainrik"; "City of Dafa-nalms" and Speaking, "Shatra khajurik", i.e. "City of Date-palms," and that this city is the ancient city of Palmyra, which was so called, because it had many palm-trees. 3 In the Hebrew name Tadmore, found in the Bible, I venture to suggest that the first part of the name, tad is something like our Indian tad (713) which is one of our Indian Palm species.

Now, the reason why Anquetil has taken a Note of its inscription in his own copy of the Zend-Avesta, is not clear. was, perhaps, because the city had long historical connections with the Persians in whose hands, it had passed for a long time.

the monks are to have all things in common; that the rich who enter into the order are to have an image in common; that the rich who enter that nothing is to be received without leave of the superior; that they nonsterv; that when they go abroad, they are never to eat, but in their monastery; that when they go abroad, they must go the together in commany. That they are to employ the first part must go two together in company; that when they go abroad, they are to employ the first part of the morning in labouring with their hands, and the rest in reading; they of the morning in innouring with their nands, and the result reading; they have Saturday allowed to provide themselves with necessaries, and are are obliged permitted to drink wine on Sundays; and if at any time they are obliged to roting through personation they are to betake themselves immediately permitted to arms wine on almanys; and if at any time they are obliged to retire through persecution, they are to betake themselves immediately with several to the place whither their superior has withdrawn. other precepts relating to charity, modesty, chastity, and other Christian what is called the rule of Ananstina which was read other precepts reating to enamy, modesty, chastry, and other Christian to the monks once a work The Tule of Augustine, which was read and the control of the property of the p Virtues, constitute what is called the rule of Augustine, which was read make one of the four orders of mendicants." (Beeton's Dictionary). These, with several

^{2.} Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 3, pp. 78-90.

^{3. &}quot;Even the name of Tadmor or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm bon's Decline and Fall of Rome (Ed. of 1845) Vol. I. p. 183. According bon's Decline and Fall of Rome (Ed. of 1845) Vol. I. p. 183. According to Burgess. the Tad (Borasene and Robelliformue) is brown as Polarica to Burgess, the Tad (Borassus and finbelliformus) is known as Palmyra palm (Burgess's Rock-cut temples of Elephanta p. 1).

(b) Again, as said above, the city had a sun-temple. So, its inscriptions may be of some use in the study of what was said in the Zend Avesta about the reverence paid by the Persians to Khorshed the sun, and Meher (Mithra) the Yazata presiding over Light. In fact, we find, as we will see later on, a reference to Mithra in Anquetil's further note on this very slip of paper. (c) Again, perhaps the fact of Zoroastrian priests using the leaves of the date-palm in their liturgical services, may have interested him in the matter of the City of palms.

I do not know what particular book of Palmyra Inscriptions and what particular letter is referred to. It was only at the end of the 18th century that the ruins were discovered.³ It was in 1751 that Wood and Dawkins first studied its architecture and it was in 1753 that they published copies of its inscriptions. "The great epigraphic wealth of Palmyra was first thoroughly opened to study by the collections of Waddington and De Vogüé made in 1861-62." So it seems that Anquetil's reference is to a manuscript letter and not to a printed letter. Anquetil gives reference to 6 pages of the book and takes a note of what these pages refer to. I will speak here of the 6 references:

The first note reads "Refute l'Abbé, Barthélemy." It means

The six notes on the slip about the Palmyra Inscription (a) Refutation of Barthélemy. that the above-mentioned Inscriptions refute Abbé Barthélemy. As Anquetil has not stated what particular statement of Abbé Barthélemy is in question, I am not, at present, in a position to speak on the subject. If the book of inscriptions is

identified, we may, later on, refer to its page 176, and see what the subject is.

As to Abbé Barthélemy, he was Jean Jacques Barthélemy, who was born in 1716 and died in 1795.

Abbé Barthélemy. He had assisted Anquetil in his adventure of coming to India. He was learned in various subjects. He was a great friend of Comte de Caylus who also had assisted Anquetil in his project. His studies

¹ Vide Dr. Robertson Smith's interesting article on Palmyra in Encyl. Britt, 9th Ed. Vol. XVIII.

² Vide my "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsees" pp. 291-93. For Anquetil's references to the Date-tree, vide his Zend Avesta Vol. II. pp. 399, 404.

³ Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire I. p. 183 n. (Ed. of 1815).

^{4.} Dr. R. Smith in Encyclopædia Britannica 18th vol. (9th ed.) p. 203.

are spoken of, on account of their variety of subjects, as "une He was an author of a number of books. We learn the follow-He was an author of a number of books. We learn the followng particulars about him from Anquetil's own work.

(a) When Anquetil communicated to him, as to other savants, his project of going to India for study, he approved the project.

And other scholars encouraged him and pointed to him the He and other scholars encouraged him and pointed to him the room of his work is Académie des Belles Lettres as the final goal of his work i.e. Academie des Belles Lettres as the mai goal of his work ve hains alastad in mambar of that hadre the ma will lead to his being elected a member of that body (Is me montrerent de mag) loin l'Académie des Belles-Lettres comme le terme de mes

(b) It was this abbé who procured for Anquetil the help of other influential personages.2

(c) The year 1761 was the year of the Transit of Venus. After Anquetil's departure from Paris to start for Venus.

or Venus.

or Anguetil's departure from Paris to start for Venus.

or Anguetil's departure from Paris to Start for Venus.

or Anguetil's departure from Paris to Start for India, When he was waiting at the Orient, a town in the Bay of Biscay, When he was waiting at the Onent, a town in the Day of Discay, friends the noming Transit and it occurred to them friends thought of the coming Transit and it occurred to them that Anguetil may carry astronomical instruments with him that Anquetil may carry astronomical instruments with him de Carling and M. Lamaignan de Malachanhae cont. So, M. le Comte to India to observe the Transit scientifically. So, III. le Comte when he was maiting at the Orient a hor containing the when he was waiting at the Orient, a box containing instrument. L'Abbé Barthélemv sent. in the hox some be when he was waiting at the Unent, a box containing the also from his library to help Anguatil ("M l'Abhé Rarthalamer Also from his library to help Anquetil ("M. l'Abbé Barthelemy sent, in the box, some books of non linguage de plusiera hon l'integ tiréa de son Cahinat via grossit la caisse de plusiers bon Livres tirés de son Cabinet)."3

(d) In his return voyage to Europe, his ship, which left Bombay on 28th April 1761, halted for some days at Hanover Bombay on Zoth April 1701, halted for some days at Hanover a laster from Abhé Rarthalamy whom ha had nraviously inform a letter from Abbé Barthelemy, whom he had previously inform.

the translation of the first chanter of the ed that he had finished the translation of the first chapter of the translation of the first chapter of the Vendidad, advising him to go on drawing out from the Dasturs on ancient Persia, till he Vendidad, advising min to go on drawing out from the Dasturs finished translating the whole of the writing attributed to finished translating the whole of the writing attributed to include in his Inished translating the Whole of the Writing attributed to whom He also recommended Anguetil to include in his Voyage, Egypt, where many discoveries were made at the time by M. de Guignes 3.

² Ibid. p. X.

³ Ibid p. CCCXVI n. 1.

- (e) Anquetil refers to him again in his account of his return to Paris, and says, that he found in him an "obliging scholar" (seavant obligeant).1
- (f) He and M. de Guignes were the two examiners who were named by the Academy to examine his Ms. work before publication (Vide for their certificate Anquetil's Zend Avesta Vol. I'p. xxxvii, the page after the Errata.)²

We have in our Society's Library the English translation in 7 volumes of the work of Abbé Barthelemy, entitled "Travels of Anacharsis the younger in Greece." The author, in these volumes, introduces us to the antiquities, manners and customs of ancient Greece, and that not in a direct form, but in the form of a description by a traveller, named Anacharsis, who travelled in Greece in the 4th century B.C. I think, in the selection of the title for his work, Abbé Barthelemy followed Xenophon, who has, in his Cyropaedia, taken Cyrus the Elder as the hero of his book, and has given his views, associating them with the name of Cyrus. The full title of Abbé Barthelemy's work is "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième Siècle avant l'ere Chretienne." Anacharsis the younger, under whose assumed name Barthelemy handles his subject. supposed to be a descendant of Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, who flourished in the 7th century B.C., and who visited Athens in the time of Solon. He was "the only barbarian ever admitted to the honour of citizenship. 3

The second Note on the above slip of paper referring to (b) The Cypress the Palmyra Inscriptions, runs thus: of Aderbedjan.

"P. 42 explique d'une manière curieuse le Cypres planté dans l'Aderbedjan." (Hyde p. 382).

The reference to Dr. Hyde is to the second edition of his Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum °(Ed. of 1760). The reference is to the subject wherein the author refers to the tree at Kashmar or Kâshmar (کاشنر). Anquetil, in his Zend-Avesta, refers to Zoroaster having brought a cypress in Kaschmer in Korassan (Vol. I, partie 2, pp. 33, 46-47 and 61).

¹ Ibid CCCCXXXIX and n. 1. Vide my "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat" p. 58.

² Ibid CCCCLXXVIII.

³ Beston's Dictionary of Geography and Biography, new edition G. R. Emerson Vol. I, pp. 123-124.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" The Cypress.

The cypress, referred to, is the cypress, which, according to Says: "It was a tree with many roots and a large number of many in the many of Gushtasp and the Firdousi and other writers, Zoroaster planted branches, spreading from the many roots and a large number of the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit at the court of King Gushtasp. Firdousi and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit vas of the reason who also of the reason who also fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit has and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit taken this note seems to me to be that the anthor referred to (viz., wisdom) die ? ''I Now, the reason, why Anquetil has him has snoken of it as the Conness planted in Âdarhâdoân. taken this note, seems to me to be, that the author references to it noint to Khornssan as the Adarbadgan, of its by him has spoken of it as the Cypress planted in Acarbaagan, As the name of the place differed. Anouefil seems to While all references to it point to Mhorassan as the place of its place differed, Anquetil seems to have taken a note of it.

The third note refers to Anquetil himself. It says: "P. 49 of his View.

Me réfute sur 2 ce que j'ai dit que Zoroastre It seems that the book referred to above refutes the view of the view of Anquetil that the book reterred to above refutes the view of long where Anametil has said so. I have not heen Anqueul that Zoroaster was never instructed by the Jews.

Andueul that Zoroaster was never instructed by the Jews.

Andueul that Zoroaster was never instructed by the Jews.

Andueul that Zoroaster was never instructed by the Jews. able to find any statement to that effect in his Zend Avesta.

On his return to Paris and hefore the nublication of the three able to find any statement to that effect in his Zend Avesta.

Darmes of his Zend-Avesta, he had publication of the three following articles:

Published according to Darmesteter, 3 the following articles:

(a) "Mémoire sur l'authenticité de l'Avesta" in the "Journal is not available des Savants." of May-June 1769. This Journal is not available

d'après Plutarque et d'après les textes Zends. It was published the Nuller's Text of the Shihh-nâmah III p. 1497, Vide my paper before and Troyer, Vol. I pp. 306.9. Vide The D. 109.109. (Vol. pp. 306.9. Vide The D. 109.109. (Vol. pp. 306.9. Vide The D. 109.109. Vide the D. 109.109. (Vol. pp. pp. 306.9. Vide \(\frac{2}{3} \) & \ Ousley's Travels in Persia Vol. I Persia Vol

4. I am very sorry to read, what our Librarian says in his letter, dated in the Library. 24th July 1024: "I to read, what our Librarian says in his letter, dated were discarded by the Managing." 24th July 1924: "Tregret we have not any volume of this in the Library."

Committee few odd volumes have not any volume of this in the Library.

learned Societies are discarded in this a pity, that such old Journals of

in the "Mémoires de l'Académie." The full title of the Memoires is "Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles lettres, avec les Mémoires de Littérature tiré des Registre de cette Académie, depuis l'année MDCCLXIV jusqua et compris l'année MDCCLXVI", Tome Trente-quatrième p. 376. The full title of Anquetil's article is "Système Theologique des Mages, selon Plutarche, comparé avec celui des anciens livres que les Parses attribuent à Zoroastre, leur Legislateur."

(c) "Exposition du Système théologique des Perses d'après les textes zends, pehlvis, et parsis; recherches sur l'age de Zoroastre." This article was published in the above Mémoires Vol. XXXVII pp. 570-710. It is not available here.

I do not find in the above available volume, the above referred to view of Anquetil. So, perhaps it is in one of the other two articles.

(d) Note on the The fourth Note reads thus: Calbovis.

"Les Calbovis du mont Leban. Hyde 515."

The Calbovis² seem to be the Kalbians who live round about mount Libanu or Lebanon. John Henry Grose, in his "Voyage to the East Indies." (1757), refers to them, and says that, like, the Suffists, they "outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion" (p. 357).

The reference to Hyde is to the second edition of Dr. Hyde's above mentioned Veterum Persaram Historia Religionis p. (515), where in the Appendix I, referring to p. 36 of the text a note is given on the Calbii and Durzii living on Mount Lebanon.

The fifth note is not legible. It reads like (p.) "152 Agli (c) A reference to Col Ormuzd."

I do not understand what is meant to be said here. Perhaps what was meant by Anquetil is that Agli (or whatever the name may be), referred to in the book of Palmyra Inscription, is the same as Ormazd of Persia.

The sixth and the last note on this slip of paper is (p.) "166 (f) Reference to Matarbal Mithra ou le soleil." The first Mithra. word is not clear. Perhaps, by a reference to the book of Palmyra Inscriptions, some light may be thrown

2. The reading is doubtful.

^{1.} This Memoir is in our Library. It is I. I. c.l.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" the Avesta.

on the word. What is meant by Anquetil seems to be that the name (whatever it may be) is the same as Mithra or the Sun of (2) Reference to

Now, we come to a Note on the first page of the third fly-leaf dans le Journal des Savants November 1771 De Guignes, Rous. seau and othors. dans le Journal des Savants. November 1771 Guignes. Mai 1772 p. 252-(272)-274.

pp. 709-716 n. 41 par M. de Guignes, la critique par M. de "Le 25 avr (il) 1788 M. Genin Ir Comm. des aff (aires) Etrang (eres) a fait la 2e lecture de son 2nd Meme sur les Runes; il a concent Concen

dit qu'il avait reç lecture de son una Meme sur les munes; u a le Randad ani lui marane anvil a vui de M. Rousseau Consul General de Bagdad qui lui marque qu'il a vu dan les mains des Parses
en carantems de Persenolis clons 2 et ie lui ai d'Iezd des Mss. en caracteres de Persepolis clous 2 et je lui ai en caracteres de Persepolis clous 2 et je lui ai a leza des diss. en caractères de l'ersepous cious et je iui ai représenté que le fait était certainement faux, qu'il fallait les attendre (?) que c'était du zend ou du Pehlvi.

"Ce Rousseau un natif d'Ispahan, a été à Surate du tem(p)s de mon frere s'est sauvé s à Paris portant toujours l'habit (?)4....

Cantries ani a été Consul à Bassora, et long auprès de M. De Captries qui a été Consul à Bassora, et mon mon me de camatère il dira voir tout ce qu'on lui demandera. C'est le caractère des chretiens (?) du pays. s

The reference in the above note to De Guignes' reply to the Reference to De Guignes' theory. criticism in 1771 seems to be to the theory, Stuck to this manon was an Egypnan colonization. He His work on this subject was entitled "Mémoire dans leanel on which he held, that the origin of the Chinese His work on this subject was entitled "Mémoire dans lequel on prouve due les Chinois sont une colonie Rountienne "nublished" nation was an Experian colonization. He note his death on 19th March 1200 6 Prouve que les Chinois sont une colonie Egyptienne : published number of in 1759-60. His theory is said to have seduced a number of savants at the time but was criticised as absurd by others. The Rousseau referred to in the above note was Jean François

Xavier Rousseau who was born at Ispahan

French diplomat. The famous Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778), in 1738 and died in 1808. He was a great nails. 3 Concealed, disguised, reserved. some word for dress.

5 Then follow four lines, which are illegible owing to faint ink. 3 Cuneiform, lit. It seems to be

then follow four lines, which are illegible owing to faint ink.

East. Vide own now the theory occasionally propounded ink.

Civilization of the Childran of the Sun, spread to the East and further society of Bombay on 2nd July 1924.

East. Vide of Bombay on 2nd July 1924.

East. Vide of Bombay on 2nd July 1924.

whose philosophy had greatly influenced the France and even the Europe of his time, was his father's cousin. His father had come to Persia, in 1708, on an embassy, and had become a principal jeweller (le principal joaillier) of the Shah there. Young J. F. Xavier Rousseau knew several languages of Asia and Europe. He was "chargé des affaires" of France in Persia in 1775. During his visit of Paris he continued to put on oriental costume. In 1782, he was the consul of France at Basra. Later on, he became consul at Bagdad and remained in that post till his death. The writer of his life in the Dictionay of Larouse says: "Son crudition and son autorité fures très utile aux voyageurs Niebuhr, Pagés....et autres." It was during the time of his stay in Persia as "chargé des affaires" that he must have visited Yezd, and it must be during that visit that he may have seen in the hands of the Parsees there some Avesta Mss. which he thought were in the letters of the Persepolitan Cuneiform inscriptions. Anquetil very properly corrected him by saying that the Mss. he may have seen must be in Zend (Avesta) and Pehlvi characters.

As to what Anquetil says, that Rousseau was in Surat when his brother was there, we do not find any direct statement to that effect in the account of his life in the Dictionary of Larouse. But, we read there, that "he came to the help of several Frenchmen who had fallen in a miserable condition in India, sent them money for maintenance in the colony of Mâhi ("vint au secours de plusieurs Francais qui étaient tombés dans la misère dans l'Inde envoya à ses frais des vivres à la colonie de Mahi.")

As to Anquetil's reference to his brother Anquetil du Briancourt being in Surat, we know from his first volume, that he was at Surat in the service of the French factory. He came to India some time after Anquetil's arrival.

Then we come to four lines which, of all the Notes of M. Anquetil, are the most difficult to read, not only on account of their bad handwriting but also because of their very faint ink.

M. Daniel Levi has read some words here and there as follows:

"M. Clod attaquer les saints livres Zend Avesta Appelé la Zend Av Phillo-phuiller." After several hours painful attempt with a magnifier, I have read a

¹ It is this fact that is referred to above in the Note.

Part of this Note as follows, and in my reading I think I am sure

qu'il avait de l'Evangile 2 de l'accepter d'attaquer ce saint livre

zend Avesta soph zena Av 10 Fev. 1791.

The M. Clootz, referred to in this most difficult of difficult notes of Anquetil, is Baron Jean Baptiste who was born in 1775 and died in 1794. He was known as Anacharsis Clootz, the first part of which name Anacharsis, he had assumed from the name of the book of Abbé Barthelemy above referred to (p. 90), viz., "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grêce Etc." He was born Dear Cleves and had gone to Paris at the age of eleven for study. While there, he took up the Anarchic teachings of his uncle Cornelius de Paum. Thereafter, he gave up his title and his Christian baptismal name and took up the above name of Anacharsis and, like the holder of that fictitious name in Barthelemy's Work, travelled and wandered in Europe, preaching anti-Christian Views. Not only did he preach against Christianity but rai down all revealed religions. He returned to Paris in 1789. He Was a member of the Jacobin Club, a club of the most violent revolutionists, founded in Paris in 1789. Robespierre, the chief of the Jacobins (1758-1794) brought about his dismissal from the Jacobin Club, and some time after, he was put to death.

It seems that like Robespierre, his character was possibly made up of contradictions. Robespierre had at first conscientions. tious scruples against the infliction of death sentence, but when he came to power, he caused many deaths as a Revolutionary, and he himself, becoming a victim was dragged to the guillotine. Similarly, Clootz, Who also became a victim of his own anarchical teaching and was condemned and put to death, had at first run down all religions, but, latterly, his extravagances are said to have become somewhat solemn and he published a book on, at least, one religion, the Mahomedan, under the title of "La

Now Anquetil's above note, though mostly illegible, seems to point to some events and traits of the character of Clootz. If I have read the Word correctly, there was something, in 1791,

This illegible word seems to signify some office or position held by M. Clootz in connection with the Jacobin Club.

about three years before his death, of a kind of "retracte" or retraction of what was previously said. His expulsion from the Jacobine Club at the hands of Robespierre may be due to some kind of retraction. Anquetil's note, if fully deciphered by better readers than myself, will help us to know what is said about the Zend Avesta in this note.

This indistinct note finishes the notes on the fly-leaves of the first volume.

VÏ

NOTES IN THE BODY OF THE VOLUME.

· Now, we come to a number of Notes in the text itself of the first volume. We find I. Notes on slips of papers, and II. Notes on the margin. I will now speak of these:

I. NOTES ON SLIPS OF PAPER.

We find that Anquetil has put down some Notes on slips of paper. It seems that Dr. J. Lee, who subsequently owned the volumes, put the slips mostly in their proper places. That it was he who did so appears from his name "J. Lee" which he has put down on most of them. I will now speak of these Notes on slips attached to different pages.

This Note reads as follows: "..... Établissement a Bamlipatam (Palorte) des cent personnes (?)

Bamlipatam; slip cet an (1777 (?) donné par Hider Acbar."

Translation.—Establishment of Bamlipatam (Palorte) of hundred persons, this year 1777 given by Hider Acber.

Bamlipatam is a village in the Malabar district. It was the Portuguese name of Palorte. Anquetil himself says: "Palorte, que les Portugais appellent Bamlipatam" (Tome I P. I. p. 126 n. 1). Its river also carries the same name (Ibid. p. 169 I. 3). It had a Catholic church dedicated to "Notre Dadame des Neiges." (Ibid p. 184 No. 28). Palorte is also written as Pallourte (Vide Tome II Index p. 748 col. 2). Hider Acbar seems to be the Haider Ali of Mysore (1702-1703).

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" The first words in the third line are difficult to read. they "parsee de Bombay" (?) It is with very great diffidence was necessional with Haidan Ali in his war with the neighbouring Was associated with Haider Ali in his war with the neighbouring state. We read in an account of Hyder Ali's life: "He is Said to have induced his brother to employ a Parsee to purchase artillery and small arms from the Bombay Government. 12. We read at the bottom of the slip in pencil a note saying "Vol. I p. 187." It seems to be in the hand of Dr. Lee. The slip must strictly be said to belong to p. 126 n. I, where we find a reference to Bamlipatam.

In interpreting these notes, we must bear in mind, that they are mere stray notes put in by Anquetil, to be perhaps amplified and connected with the text; so they must not be taken as a running sentence.

170, on an abbe and the Avesta Ahun-The next slip is attached to p. 170. It reads: avar. "Le 73 9bre 17834.

M. l'Abbé Adheach, chanoinie de M. D. qui travaille sur le Zend-Avesta &c. m'est Surfout. Ques. sur le Verbe, l'Yonover, la Parol. Autre ditoil y a dans l'Orient avant le Chrestianism a cité les passes (?) predicateur a dit que la croyance de Verbe &c. etait sultera &c.

M. l' Adheach lira sur l'autorité cité &c. me con.

I During my visit of Myzore and Seringapatam about 18 years ago, with other courtiers in his full dress. 2 Encyclopædia Brittanica 9th Ed. Vol. 12 p. 427 col. 2.

³ The figure may be read 5, but as it is like the second figure of the

⁴ The last figure may be read as 7; But as '7', the second figure in the vear is not like this one should not read it as 7. the number for the year is not like this, one should not read it as 7.

The second figure in the vear (1783) cannot be other than 7 because the number for the year is not like this, one should not read it as 7.

Anquetil lived in the year (1783) cannot be other than 7 because of a person to him, there is no doubt that the year is seventeen hundred Anquetil lived in the century denoted by 17. As he speaks of the visit and eighty-three (the last figure may be different).

Translation: -7th November 1783.

Mr. Abbe Adheach (of the) Canonry of M.D. who works on the Zend Avesta &c. came to see me with M.G.(?)

Question.—On the Word, the Yonover,² the Word. Another Question.³ There is...... a preacher (who) has said that the belief of the (Holy) Word &c. existed in the East before Christianity. (He) has cited the passages. Mr. (abbot) Adheach will read.....? on the authority quoted &c. (and) will consult me.

This slip of paper attached to the plate between pp. 270 and 271, bears some faint writing in pencil by some later hand, giving the decipherment of some words. Then at the bottom, it has the following, words:

" Vol. I, p. 170

J. Lee."

It seems, that the slip was, at first, a loose slip, and the above referred to Dr. Lee, thinking that it referred to something on p. 170 of the first volume, wrote that Note with his own hand. But it does not appear to have any reference to anything said on this page.

Then some later handwriting (which also seems to be that of Dr. Lee) has corrected this reference in faint pencil and we read "See Vol. 2,176 (=I, 2, 176)." This is a very proper correction, because, on p. 176 of the second part of the first volume, we find a reference to the Ahuna vairya prayer, and the word there is written by Anquetil as "Honover."

I This word seems to be surtout. If so, it may mean, with the preceding word which seems to be au (au surtout), "in an overcoat"; or it may mean especially. Then the word may run in connection with what follows i.e., he came to see me especially on the question. (The question is referred to in the next line.)

² Yonover is the Honover (Avesta "Ahuna Vairya," the prayer known as Yathâ Ahû Vairyô). Anquetil says of it: "Nom général de la parole d'Ormuzd (Vide his Zend Avesta, Tome II, Table des Matieres, p. 697 1st Column).

³ We read the word 'dito' (Eng. ditto) under the word "ques(tion)" of the preceding line. So, I think what Anquetil means to say is that his "another question was &c."

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE"

We read on this slip: "Après la mort du chef des grands mort du chef des grands 3 The slip attached to p. 425 on an Event Marates resident à Ponin, guerre pour le at Poona. partage des biens entre Rougunatrao et sa niece femme de Moraro; le 1r cede Salsette Prennent Tanin le 28-1000 1774; sappairent leur (?) Les aux monarie de foire un establissement chez en 21 aux Anglais, pour le faire un appui. Ils qu'ils prient aux Français de faire un establissement chez eux ?1

Translation.—On the death of the chief of the great Mahrattas, residing in Poons, war for the division of the property between the miss of Morarao Tha Ragounathrao and the family of the wife of Morarao. The first (i.e., the former?) family of the wife of Morarao. The December 1774 They took Thana (on) the English for their They ally themselves to them (?): the Mah. Tendering him support.

December 1774. They ally thomselves to them (?); the Mali
the Ring. Lecember 1774. They ally themselves to them (i); the Manlish. They request the French to establish themselves lish.....They request the French to establish themselves amongst them (?)

The Ragounathrao, referred to in this Note, is the Maratha range of the Raghinha (also known as Raghinhath) who was the son of Chief Ragounathrao, referred to in this twoie, is the matricular Raji Rao I of Poons The Maraths nower was in ascendancy in Collet Kaghuda (also khown as Kaghunath) who was the sou of the latter half of the 18th century and in 1760 when Analetii the latter half of the 18th century, and in 1760, when Anquetil The Mahratha Empire was in its venith The The latter half of the 18th century, and in 1700, when Anqueta Morarao referred to here is Madho Rao also snoken of as Madhay Was in Bombay, the Manratha Empire was in its zenith. The following passage from Râo. He was the fourth Peshwâ. The following passage from Oxford Student's History of India. Rão. He was the fourth Peshwä. The following passage iron of India. (6th Ed., 1916, Chap. XXIV, p. 266) explains the event referred war arose to herein: "The War known as the first Marâthâ war arose of Peshwâ. Mâdho Out of a disputed succession to the office of Peshwa. Madho $h_{rother} N_{\hat{s}r\hat{s}v\hat{s}n} R_{\hat{s}o} = 0$ Peshwa. Madho $h_{rother} N_{\hat{s}r\hat{s}v\hat{s}n} R_{\hat{s}o} = 0$ Peshwa. Madho (Magnava) wao, the fourth reshwa, died in 1772

Inter was murdered by his brother Narayan Rao, who, nine months

Rachoha (Rachmath) who later, was murdered by his uncle Raghoba (Raghunath). Succession was contested between the murderer and the supporter of his vietim's posthumous child, who set up a roomised their regency. The English authorities at Bombay promised their Ralsette? regency. The English authorities at Bombay promised their and Bassein and an agreement price of the cession of Salsette?

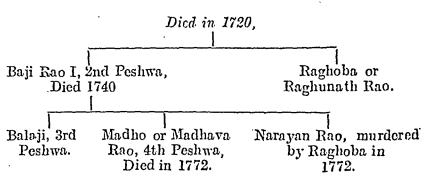
(1775) was concluded without the knowledge of the Governor-(1775) was concluded without the knowledge of the Governor-General. 3 But he found himself obliged to support the Bombay President in the war which ensued."

¹ The last 4 lines are illegible and unintelligible to me, because Anquetil has added a line over a line and unintengiole to 2 Tanin or Thana, referred to in this note, formed a part of the Salsette. 3 Hastings was the Governor-General at the time.

The following genealogical Table explains the relationship between the different Peshwas:—

BALAJI VISHWANATH

1st Peshwa in 1714.



At the foot of this note also, we read, in Dr. Lee's hand, a Note saying "Vol. I, p. 424." There is also the same Note in faint pencil. It seems, that at first, he made the Note in pencil, and then, assuring himself that he was right, he made the Note in ink. This Note properly points out the place or the page where the slip should go because, it is here (pp. 424-425), that Anquetil refers to Thana (Tanin) in describing his return journey to Surat from the Elephanta caves. As all the events had happened subsequent to his departure from India he takes a Note of what he had subsequently heard or read.

Having finished an examination of the Notes on slips of paper, I now come to the marginal Notes in the Volume itself.

II-MARGINAL NOTES.

We have a number of marginal notes. They are of two kinds:

(1) Those which correct the error in the print, and (2) those which give some additional information on the subjects, treated in the pages on the margin of which they stand. As to the errors in print, we find, that Anquetil seems to have gone over his work very carefully with a view, perhaps, of a second edition. We find from these volumes, that he had taken care to mark even the errors of the omission of small punctuations like comma, &c. There are marginal notes, drawing attention here and there to other references. We know, that in the first volume in the first set of pages, numbered XVII-XXXVI, Anquetil has given a very long exhaustive Errata (p. XVII)

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Saying: "Il y a beaucoup de fautes dans cet ouvrage; le plus grand nombre est de moi, les autres on échappé à Plus grand nombre est de moi, les autres ou echappe a sens, ou qui le rendent incertain ; le Lectuer voudra bien corriger 101 le reste de lui-meme, et suppléer la ponetuation dans les endroits où, quoique vicieuse, elle ne cause aucune obscurité." This explains his solicitude to note down even the minutest errors, like those of punctuations, with a possible view to a second edition.

The following is a list of the pages bearing marginal Notes, with my few observations: P. XX of Errata.

(a) The first important marginal note in the Errata reads:— 1 ·· des Lettres du Bengale établé Mogul par les Marates. Siège a Delli Gazette de France² 31 Juill. 1772.

Anquetil's references in the Marginal Note to the events of 1772 seem to be explained by what we read in Smith's "Oxford follows:—"Rut the Marâthâs although hit hard by the diseaster follows:—"But the Marâthâs, although hit hard by the disaster of Pânîpat, soon began to recover power, and at the close of or Fanipat, soon began to recover power, and at the close of Analysis of the persuaded Shah Alam to quit Allahabad and return to the capital. Emperor thus became a dependent of the Marathas, and Hastings was justified in withholding a payment of the Bengal tribute; and in treating Allahabad and Karâ as abandoned by

The event also seems to be explained by the following which we read in the History of Dow (2nd edition, vol. II, p. 333), referred to by Anquetil on the page of the Marginal note:

The King (Alamgir II) and his eldest son Ali Gohar, were, in the meantime, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in 1772 The vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw and many other Omrahs, swore on the and fair promises he was instantly confined by Ghazi in oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi in the house, of Alla Murda, where he remained for the space of two months."

¹ The edge of the page having been cut off, the first word is not clear. It may be lu, i.c., read. ² Doubtful reading.

Anquetil's reference to Mr. Dow's History on p. 20 of his Errata, is to the first edition of Alexander Dow's "History of Hindostan; translated from the Persian." After the publication of Anquetil's work, a new edition of this History was published in 1812, in three volumes, in an amplified form, with two dissertations in place of one referred to by Anquetil. The title of this new edition runs thus: "The History of Hindostan; translated from the Persian, to which are prefixed two Dissertations; the first concerning the Hindoos, and the second on the Origin and Nature of Despotism in India; by Alexander Dow, Esq. A new edition in three volumes, London 1812."

- (b) The second marginal note of the Errata is not clearly written out. When the difficult parts are properly arranged as indicated by marks like \wedge and \times it reads thus:
 - P. 486 lig. 1 9 lis 2. est precedée de'.
- P. 486 lig. 3 lis. Vendidad sadé. Je donne séparement la Vendidad proprement si-dit quoiqu' il fassent partie du Vendidad-sadé ou il est mêlé avec Izeschnè et la Vendidad parceque."

These marginal notes, in order to be better understood, must be read with what is said on page 486 of the first volume of Anquetil II. 9 and 3. Anquetil wants to make a reference to what he has said on p. 486 and suggests a correction. The references to the Vendidad Sadé and the Vendidad properly so-called refer to the fact that this Vendidad contains in itself the Yasna and the Visparad also.

MARGINAL NOTES OF DISCOURS PRÉLIMINAIRE.

P. 30. The Note reads: "Bibl. Germ. T. 48 p.112." I do not know to what Library (Bibliothèque) Anquetil refers. He seems to desire to add this marginal note of reference, if another edition of his work was published. Perhaps the word Germ. may be read Gen. m., i.e., Gentil Ms. Then, that may be a reference to the library of an orientalist M. Gentil. Vide below (p. 107), marginal note of p. 274.

¹ Abbreviation 'of ligne' 2

² Abbr. of lisez

³ The word Sadé, if it is Pers. Sådeh, simple, seems to be a misnomer, because such a Vendidad is not "simple" but "mixed." So, I think, the word may be Sada, inconvenience, trouble, because the recital of the three—the Vendidad proper, the Yasna and the Visperad-causes an inconvenience or trouble to the reciter, requiring him to be very careful to preserve the proper order of the arrangement of the chapters.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Graaf (?) p. 47-49."

P. 48. "Ou du Schodjaa frère de Aurangzebe. Voy. He says of the palace referred to in his text, that it was of Shuja, 103 de

the brother of Aurangzebe. Shah Jahan had four sons, of whom Shuja was the second and Aurangzebe the third. I do not know what book of voyage Anquetil refers to.

(P. 83. There is a marginal note in English in pencil on p. 83 of the Discourse, which refers to Ezouri Vedam, which reads:
This hook is a forcery of the Jesnit Missionaries." This note Of the Discourse, which refers to Ezouri Vedam, which reads:

seems to have been made by a later owner of the volumes more.

seems to have been made by a later owner of the volumes, most probably by the above-referred to Dr. Lee. 1) P. 119. "M. Dupleix, tiré du Bengale, remplacé par un de contra les onerres éte.

P. 119. "M. Dupleix, tire au Bengale, remplace par un tout. cola premará concertá par les dies de par les guerres &c. tout cela preparé, concerté par les durines et tranamiliser du Renoale, les Anglais, pour l'emparer Surem et tranquiliser du Bengale".

Translation.—M. Dupleix, withdrawn from Bengal, (and) re-

placed by a Weak man, occupied himself on the coast, with the Wars, all that prepared (and) concerted by the English in order to possess Surem (pore) and tranquilise Bengal.

The reference here to Dupleix's Withdrawal from Bengal is to the fact of his being the superintendent of French affairs in Chanthe fact of his being the superintendent of French analysis of the rapid to the foundation that he made there led to his

perity under him. The reputation that he made there led to his penty under him. The reputation that he made there led to his territoriag in India I.24, the Governor-General of the French to the territories in India. Latterly, he came to the South, to the wars which rose hetween two territories in India. Madras Presidency. In the wars, which rose between two the Nouth, to the Soversionty of Carnatic and the Daccan rival claimants for the sovereignty of Carnatic and the Deccan, the Rritish took the side of the rivals who were onnosed to those the British took the side of the rivals who were opposed to those the British took the side of the rivals who were opposed to those ships with a point at the end) seems to be Seram. abbreviated form with a point at the end) seems to be Seram-

pore near Calcutta. It was for some time held by the Dutch, but in 1845 it was sold to the English. P. 120. The note reads: "La compag. Angloise, en ren-P. 120. The note reads:—La compag.

dant justice à la probité de M. Spencer, pense différenment de M. Verelst.

Ses operations dans le Bengale. Memoirs de M. Verelst. Append(ix) p. 134."

This Mr. Spencer is Mr. Spencer who was the Commisoner of Marine in Bombay at the time when Anouetil came to Sioner of Marine in Bombay at the time when Anquetil came to Bombay before his departure to Europe and with whom he Roadish Bombay before his departure to Europe and With Whom he Company at Surat. Anomalil refers to his "Drobité", more

name in his time, owing to his good qualities. He says "Mais ce nom, ils ne le doivent qu'aux qualités personnelles du Chef de l'entreprise (M. Spencer). Il n'a pas moins fallu que I'humanite', la douceur, la probité de ce généreus Anglois, pour fair oublier aux naturels du Pays la violence qu'il exerçoit au nom de sa Nation. (Tome I., P. 1., p. 119, last para). Anquetil refers to Spencer's "bonnes manieres" further on also. (Ibid p. 297, l. 13). Again, he says of him: "Si jamais homme a été propre à concilier des partis animés l'un contre l'autre, c'étoit ce généreux Anglois" (Ibid p. 437). He desired the union of England and France. (Vide also Ibid, pp. 302, 307, 309).

This and the previous marginal notes are in connection with a long dissertation of Anquetil on the subject of the possession of power in India by the different European nations. It is a subject worth reading even now. What Anquetil means to say by this Note, is, that even a good and honest man like Spencer failed in Bengal, wherein there was much of avidity in the management of affairs. I cannot make out who the Monsieur (the name is not clear) referred to by Anquetil, is, and what his mémoire was. Anquetil refers to a number of Memoirs in his original notes printed in the margin of his pages.

- P. 123. The Marginal notes of this page seem to point out the marginal sub-headings of the subject, which may be printed, if a second edition was ever wanted. Or, perhaps, Anquetil only put these for his reference.
- (P. 179. Here, there is a Note in English, which runs as: "\$25. Aiphab. Samper. Born 1772." The number \$25 is a correction of number \$22 in the body of the text. But, I cannot trace who Aifab Samper, who is said to have been born in 1772, is. The Note is not in the hand of Anquetil, but seems to be in the hand of Dr. Lee. The word 'born' is not French and so evidently it is not a note by Anquetil. 1)
 - P. 211. We read the following Notes:—,(a)" Sevadji fils du Ram Raja, fils de Sevadji.

By this note, Anquetil corrects his statement in the original. The original said that Ram Raja, a Prince of the Marâthâs was the son of Schah Raja who was the son of Sambadji Raja. In this marginal note, he says, that Ram Raja was the son of Sevadji and had himself a son named Sevadji.

(b) Again, lower down, he speaks of Sambadji as the son of the great Shivaji and again corrects or modifies that statement by a second marginal Note which reads: Sambadji "fils amié de Rama Raja, fils de Sevadji."

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" Anquetil seems to be under some confusion about the descendants of the great Maratha leader Shivaji, owing to the fact, that in the rising and descending generalogy of the reat hora are soveral names that are common. Mahratta no the rising and descending genealogy of the great To make the matter clear to the readers, I give below the ascending lines of Shivaii who was related to To make the matter clear to the readers, 1 give below the Rhonelo (the Romento of Anametil) family the Bhonsle (the Bonsolo of Anquetil) family. Balaji, alias Shivaji (B. 1533).

Maloji (B. 1550) ShahajiVithoji (B. 1553) S_{arfji} $S_{ambhaji}$ Shivajithe great leader (B. 1627. D. 5th April 1680) Sambhaji (B. 1657 by wife Sayabai of the Nimbalchar Rajaram (B. 1664 by wife Shirke family. Shah Raja (Shâhu) also Tarabai). Marriedknown as Shivaji. $S_{ambhaji}$ Ramraja (B. 1758). Shi_{Vaji}

The Ramraja, spoken of by Anquetil as the son of the great The lower names in The Kamraja, spoken of by Anquetii as the son of the great the above table areasuch as a Rajaram. I The lower names in the margin the above table are such as are given by Anquetil in the margin. (c) The third Note on p. 211 refers to Nana, another name, as from 1740 to said by Anquetil, of Balaji Rao who was Peshwa from 1740 to

"Passé dans 1761. Deux enfants. I°2 Madorao, sous la tutelle de Raguenatrão, son frère.

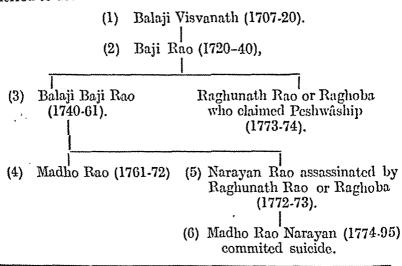
I. "The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, Founder of the Maratha Empire, Takakhav, adopted from the original Marathi work of K. A. by Prof. The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, Founder of the Maratha Empire, genealogical table p. 550. I have prepared the upper part of the first.

2. i.c., the first.

2º1 Naranção, assassiné ensuite par Raguenatrão en 1774.

Naranrao 92 an age, fils de ce dernr3, Prince Naranrao.....4)

The above names in the marginal notes of Anquetil are explained by the following genealogical table of the Peshwas.⁶ (the Pesevè of Anquetil, Tome I, P. 1. p. 211 n.). The events referred to are mentioned in brief with the names.⁷



¹ i.c. the second.

² I am doubtful about the figure. It may be some other number of one digit.

³ Dernier. 4 The next line is cut off with the paper.

⁵ The words which I have read "9 an age" are very badly written. They can be read as one word and as "savage" for "savage," i.e., wild. Then in that case, the word in the next line which I have read above as "prince" may be read as "prive" (i.e., deprive), and then, the meaning would be "The savage or the wild or mad son of the last (person) deprives (himself, of his life)." The missing portion may be words saying something like that. Then the reference may be to the fact that this Naranrao, the (Madhorao) Narayan of our genealogical table which follows, had committed suicide.

⁶ The Oxford Students' History of India by Vincent Smith (1916), p. 304.

⁷ Shahu (D.1748), the descendant of Shivaji, had Balaji, Vishwanath as his Peshwa. This Balaji Vidshwanath died in 1720 and his son Baji Rao I. succeeded him. Baji Rao was succeeded by his son Balaji. From 1727, when Shahu had given full powers to Baji Rao I, the Peshwas had become the ruling dynasty.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE." P. 229. "J'ai lu eti j'ai appris des gens du pays, les details des jens des jens des jens du pays, les details des jens des jens du pays, les details des jens des je relatifs aux femmes Indoues qui se brulent. Mais je n'ai pas anoime religience : narge que assisté à cette cérémonie barbare, quoique religieuse ; parce que nondnire dans sa (?) ee qui regarde les Indous n'étoit que se conduire dans sa (?) place; j'ai ajouté ce trait pour me delivrer des mille de ques. place; J'al ajoute ce trait pour me deuvrer des mine de quesmanana à la varita 3 La vovagant de ga tour a tout vu annri manqué à la verité, 3 Le voyageur de sa tour a tout vu, appri tout de yeux s'affablir...dans ce qu'il zelement vrai."

The last two or three lines are not clear to me, owing to the last letters on the margin having been cut off. But the sense Ananatil casing to defend him. of the whole seems to be clear. Anguetil seems to defend him. of the whole seems to be clear. Anquetu seems to detend minds in his work on this name about the Hindu custom of Sutton ed in his work on this page about the Hindu custom of Suttee, enervated by heat, and accustomed to violence of despotism or which he says in his original writing: Nature (here) being they look to misfortains to death itself with a bind of corologe. they look to misfortune, to death itself, with a kind of careless. ness or of courage, which, in free countries and temperate climate, one hardly finds among women."4

P. 274. The first marginal note runs as "meurt 91 ans. Gent. (?) i.e., "Died (at the age of) 91 years."

Aurangzeb is said to have died at the age of 88 in the begin. ning of March 1707.5 Gent. seems to be (M.) Gentil.

"Le II Rabbiussani, 1179 de l'heg⁶ dans les plaines de Panipat," &c., &c. Mst. 7 de M. Gent.

In this note, Anquetil gives the Mahomedan date and the authority of an event in the reign of Shah Jehan II. As to the

1 The word et seems to have been cut off with the page. 2 The first part of the word having been cut off with the margin the word is not intelligible to me.

3 A letter is cut off with the margin, but the word seems to be verité. 4 Pide my "Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab". 23. It seems that in ancient times the custom of Suttee was not confined

o India. Viac my paper on Suttee.

5 Vincent Smiths, "Oxford Students, History of India." (1916) p. 219.

7 Manuscript, Tho word may be Sujet. If we take it for Mss. work (Tome I.P. 1 n. 256). If we they are referred to by Anquetilin his work (Tome I.P. 1 p. 256). If we refers to M. Gentil. they are referred to by Anquetilin his work (Tome I.P. 1 p. 256). If we speaks of the reference as a "sujet", (Ibid). Vide the Index of Anquetil.

authority, Gentil, he was an Artillery officer of the French army in the Decean. He had a taste for Oriental Literature and had with him several manuscripts of Oriental subjects. M. Gentil had been of great use to Anquetil in various matters.

P. 332.—"Iliaques ou hypogastriques."

This note is in connection with Anquetil's account of his illness caused by his attempt of assisting a Couli² or labourer in lifting up a load. The attempt had caused looseness of some arteries. In this note, he adds that the arteries referred to were the "iliac or illiacal and the hypogastric." The iliac arteries are those which are related to "the ilium or flank-bone"³; Hypograstric arteries are those related to the hypogastrium i.e., those situated in the lower part of the abdomen.

. P. 333.—" Ou iliaques."

Anquetil continues his account of his above illness for three pages. Here, he adds in the marginal note that the arteries which he called "arteres umbilicales" in his original writing are also known as "iliac."

P. 334.—" le battements de "

Anquetil, in his continued description of his illness, says, that at last his complaint was cured by a Parsee who took two hours after the work of restoring the arteries to their proper position and was all perspired (en nage) in the operation. He said: "il sentoit l'artere." To make the meaning clear he adds the above words before "artere," which mean "the stamping of"⁶

¹ Ibid VLI. pp. 232, 233, 257.

² Cooli is a word for porter, a carrier. I think it is an Europeanised form of India 22 "Gari", a porter or a labourer (Vide Shapurji Edalji's Dictionary).

³ Webster's Dictionary.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ As to the Parsee, who cured Anquetil and of whom he speaks as "the Great Deliverer" (or Succorer) "un Parse robust que j'appellerois presque le Grand Frere secouriste de Surate, (p. 333), I thinkhe may be an ancestor of the family of the well-known bonesetter of Surat, known as Bhimji. The profession of bone-setting and such other work relating to injured limbs &c. is hereditary in the family. A later member of the family, Bhimji Jivanji Randelia, so called, because they came from Rander, a town near Surat, was well known as Bhim, and on his death (23rd May 1875) was spoken of as "Bhim Dev" i.c., "Bhim god," on account of his extraordinary power of curing and setting broken bones. He was

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE"

P. 365.—"Ils sont les astronomes tres probablement." In this marginal note, Anquetil takes the "Dietties" to be probably astronomers. But that does not seem to be the case. Jatti is Sanskrit yati (यति) and this is a religious mendicant renounced the World and controlled his passions." I one who had

Some of the words on this page are underlined in ink, by Some of the Words on this page are underlined in the hond of Anametic in French and this underlining are not in the hand of Anquetil. They seem to be by the lining are not in the hand of Anquetil. They seem to be by the of two words in this note, compared with the final 's', at the end of the hand of the hade of the first cover of this hand note of Lanjuinais on the back of the first cover of this first volume, shows that this seems to be the case.

Here Anquetil explains the word 'Viakkeran' 'grammar' P. 369.—"Bhratiah porteur."

Anquetil explains by this note the word 'Bera', which he also explains by this note the word 'Bera', which he also the first word bhratiah. he seems to derive it from a Sanskrit. the first word bhratiah, he seems to derive it from a Sanskrit

P. 384.—"Pris Par les Anglais Comm. par le Gen. Goddard, le 10 Janvier 1787, Conv. de l'Sur 22 Mai 1781.

This note refers to Bassein. By the Treaty of Surat in 1775, formal a preceding note, in the war of succession to the the British had promised help to Magnumath or Magnuma preseding note, in the war of succession to the condition that he coded Salsette and Rassein Peshwaship, on the condition that he ceded Salsette and Bassein. The Gen. (General) Goddard, referred to in the Note, is Colonel The Note, is Colonel

The Gen. (General) Goddard, referred to in the Note, is Coloned Transly of 1722 known as the Transly of Salhai (a. to Surat. The Treaty of 1782 known as the Treaty of Sâlbâi (a town in Sindia's Rassain for the Raslich 2 The

territory) secured Salsette and Bassein for the English. 2 The given a public testimonial in 1867 by the public of Bombay. Many Sound this father Jivanji Sorabji Randelia who died had fearnt the Parsee referred to by Anquetil may be this Jivanji's grandfather.

3 Vincont Smith's Oxford Students' History of India, p. 267.

word after the first figures, 1781, seems to be "Conv." an abbreviation of Convention, i.e., Treaty. The word Sur. seems to be for Surat. The words seem to refer to a Treaty made on 22nd May 1781 after the capture of Bassein by Col. Goddard on 10th January 1781.

P. 407.—" Large environ de 2 cannes et demie, et."

He added this note to give an idea of the breadth (large) of the gallery in a cave in the Kanheri caves. Canne is a long measure. It seems to be something like' Indian kathi.

P. 423.—"Noircie par l'ardeur de soleil, de la nature des pierres de monte, ou de ce qu'on appele dâba, ou de haut et bas apporté."

Translation.—Blackened by the heat of the sun, of the nature of the stones of the mountain, or of what one calls dâba or procured from high and low (or above and below).

Anquetil gives this note on the word "pierre noire", used by him in his text in his description of the Elephanta caves near Bombay. The word dâba, which he has underlined, is, I think, the Indian word dhâpo (पापा) from dhâmpvu to cover from all directions, i.e., as Anquetil says, from above and below. These are big slabs of stones.

P. 427.—" Je me rendit a Gourbander et suivi en faite." i.e. "I went to Gourbander and followed in fact."

This Note is in connection with Anquetil's account of his return journey to Surat from the Elephanta caves. He adds here, that he passed by Gourbander. Gourbander is Gore Bunder which is on this side of the Bassein creek. It is the last place in Salsette proper, where formerly passengers got into boats to cross over to Bassein on their way to Surat.

P. 476.—Here, the Marginal Note simply points at transferring three words from a line above to a line lower down.

P. 489.—"hist Rel. v. Pers. p.

These abbreviated words on the margin when fully written would be:

"Historia Religionis Veterum Perserum, page"

This is a reference to Dr. Thomas Hyde's great book on the Religion of the Persians. Anquetil has not marked the page, but it is the one which he has marked as "P. 18" in the commencement of the lines quoted. We find the lines in Avesta

characters both in the first edition of 1700 and in the second edition of 1760. The words alisez peziram given in brackets (p. 489 last but two lines) are Anquetil's own addition. 111

P. 490.— Sont rapportés en caracteres persans a la p. 278

We find the two couplets (backs), referred to by Anquetil, on p. 18 of both the editions of Hyde and also on p. 277 of the first and on p. 278 of Hyde's second edition. In his text, Anquetil speaks of the couplets occurring "du commence." ment du Viraf-nameh, Poëme Persan." For these lines in Persian, vide "Arda Viraf Nâmeh. The Original Pahlavi Text, With an introduction and Persian Version of Zartoshi Behram," by Dastur Kaikhusru J. Jamasp Asa (1902) Persian Text p. 1 couplet 16.

P. 493.—We have two marginal notes on this page:

(a) "et dans la Traduction du Saddar porta! 65' p. 487. bonam Tr Mazdiyasenân Religionem percipito."

On this page, Anquetil criticizes and finds fault with Dr. Hyde's rendering of some passages of the Persian Saddar (Book of 100 gates or chapters), Which Dr. Hyde has translated into Latin in his book "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum." He points out, that Dr. Hyde has, in more than one place, misunderstood the word Mazdayaçnân, by taking it to be the name of a book, instead of taking it for the "followers of God."

(b) "p. 487. au bien de dire que les femmes ne sont pas obligé à la priere nommé néasch, voici commo il s'exprime of salvere inbeat) Ouige was priete nomme neascn, voici commo in seapming on inimality properties of the Compressionem, ut salvere jubeat) non injungunt', preuve qu'il ne savoit pas ce que c'est que le

The page reference in the beginning is to Hyde's above work, the second edition where Hyde speaks of the 65th chapter of the Sad-dar. Anquetil has attempted, in his work, to show that made mistakes in Dr. Hyde did not know Zend and had made mistakes in understanding the Persian Sad-dar. He has given some instances to prove his statement, and, here, in the marginal This subject Occurs in the note he gives another instance. This subject occurs in the 65th chapter of the Sad-dar. It is the 69th chapter of the

² Hore, the page is of the 2nd ed. of Hyde.

Sad-dar Bundehesh (Vide the Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundehesh, edited by Bomanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar 1909 p. 138.) The Sad-dar referred to by Anquetil is the Sad-dar known as "Saddar-i-Behr-i Tavil" in verse (Vide chapt. 65 of the Gujarati Translation of the Saddar-i-Behr-i Tavil by Dastur Jamaspji (1881) p. 289)."

P. 500.—"Diet. histor. 5° edit. en 8 vol. 1783 art. 1 Zoroastre. Le Zend Avesta cité comme deposé a la Bibl. du Roi en 1762, trad. 2 et publie en 1770. 3 2 vol. en 4° par M. Anquetil.

This marginal note is in reference to the question, as mentioned above, raised by a writer of the time, that Anquetil was not the first to translate and publish the Zend Avesta, a question, which seems to have affected him much on his return to Paris from India. Here, he points out, that his work was referred to in the 5th edition of the Dictionnaire Historique.

P. 508.—"en Pontecheri."

This additional Note on the margin refers to Anquetil's description of the coins used in the South of India in Mahi and Talichery. In the body of his work, he has given the reading on the obverse, as "Talicheri P saneh 175." i.e. This inscription is in Persian, meaning "Talicheri, struck in (P. i.e., pa or ba, meaning, 'in') the year 175. (The last digit is omitted because it changes according to the different years). Then Anquetil gives the inscription on the reverse as "bera Kopni Francis" which when written in Persian will read: "Lower to the French Company." Now, in this marginal note, he adds, that there were also on the reverse, the words "in Pondichery."

P. 517.—(a) "avaient"

(b) "Qui leur a été enlevé en 1769."

These two marginal Notes seem to have been added by Anquetil with an eye to a second edition, because, after the time when he wrote this volume and before he revised it, the Dutch, of whom he speaks in the text, had removed their company from the Persian Gulf.

¹ Article. 2. Traduit.

³ The figure may be read as 3 (three), Then, in that case, the two parts of the 1st volume are taken as two volumes.

- P. 519.—(a) "morceau",
- (b) "morceau de plomb, quarré" (c) "de plomb".
- P. 520.—"en gras "

P. 525.—"et tres adoriferante "

These marginal notes are only intended for additions to be made in the second edition.

- P. 533.—The word "(H) eloug " corrected from "houleh "
- is Pers. Lor word (II) etoua corrected from nomen (Nân o halava) "would mean "Bread (Pers. nân) and sweets." P. 534. (a) "Paritachhat" (b) "Sakep dew." The first word seems to be Pers, parizadiee, bom of a fairy. It is opposed to the word Dew or Dev (i.e. demon) which follows. The next word Word Dew or Dev (i.e. demon) which to the word conference in conversation.) This word corresponds to the word conference in the text. The Rajah Bai referred to in the text as the well-V. Smith, p. 236). He seems to have had some discussions

with one Din Sakeh". (b) The marginal word "Litab" is Pers. Lis i.e., Book.

- P. 536. "Feridoun." The Note corrects the words "sous Roman hopened the store of Zohale les premiers rois de " for Feridun, because the story of Zohalz is connected with that of Feridum, the Thracetaons of the Avesta. The Note seems to be by some other hand.

Anquetil corrects the name of Abu Fazl, wrongly given as the name of the Persian Translator, for this name. P. 539. "Sur beaucoup de mots"

These words are added simply to render his meaning clear.

P. 541. "Le Ferouesahi Pehlyi", render his meaning clear. This Note simply adds the name of the Pahlavi Farokhehii to his names of prayers in the Text.

A FEW MS. NOTES OF THE SECOND VOLUME. Coming to the second volume (i.e., the second part enves taken from another Journal or book, the name of which caves, taken from another Journal or book, the name of which

Parsecz, Paroklishi, vide my "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the

is not properly legible. I may take a more detailed survey of this volume at some other time. On the back of the cover of the second Volume, we find the words "Lee, Hartwell," most probably written by Dr. Lee himself.

Then, on the 1st page of the first fly leaf, we find a Note, saying "Pages marked by Mr. Cullimore with papers", and then follow the numbers of pages in Arabic figures with references here and there as to what subjects of the Volume they refer to. This note also seems to have been made by Dr. Lee.

Then follows a letter attached to the fly leaf of the 2nd 1. P. Van Dyke's Volume (Tome Premier, Second Partie): Letter. It has a Note at the top, in the hand of Anquetil, saying, when the letter was received, and when it was replied to &c. with some remarks. The letter runs thus:

Monsieur,

Parmi quelques Manuscrits Orientaux qu'un Capitaine de la Marine demeurant en cette ville m'a donné pour examiner s'ils étaient de quelqu'importance, j'ai trouvé un dont, je ne connais pas d'abord les lettres mais en les confrontant avec quelques alphabets que Mr. Niébûhr a donné au 2 Tome de ses voyages, j'ai découvert qu'il était écrit en la langue que Mr. Niébûhr appelle Zend: mais comme cette langue m'est entiérement inconnue, je ne suis pas en état de juger si ce livre est de quelque utilité à la littérature, et comme je ne connais dans co pays çi personne qui a quelque connaissance de cette langue, j'ai pris le parti de vous faire part de cette décoûverte espérant qu'elle vous pourra contribuer quelques plaisir.

Le M'scrit est écrit en format de petit Atlas sur du velin parfaitement bien conservé en caractère assez gros trés distinct sans aucun ornement: les pages sont marquées en haut de chifres Indiens depûis 1 jüsques â 332, les lignes sont souvent entrecoúpées par quelques mots écrits de rouge en caractére Arabes, mais comme je soupconne par le mot qui s'y trouve souvent en langue Persane. Pour vous mettre en état de juger tant soit peu sur le contenu je joins ici quelques des premières lignes que j'ai copié avec toute l'accuratesse, qui me fut possible:

ودایدی. د ومردر درج. وسرج. ومد(. ۱۱۱۱ مهد فهرد مردواد بتدا کونم بنام کوگاری غیبدان تا دمه توفیق اندر وصف بکنا بهر زبان

la seconde ligne est écrite de rouge comme aussi les figures & 13. et m û la cinquième et sixième; comme les caractéres Arabes Sont beaucoup plus minces et serrés que les autres, je n'ai pas Pu mettre la quatrième ligne tout de suit comme au Mscrit; ninsi je l'ai continué en montant.

Voilâ, Monsieur, ce que j'espère être suffisant pour vous faire connaître ce Mscrit; s'il vous semble digne de votre attention, je vous prie de me vouloir honorer de votre réponse, et de m'en indiquer s'il se peut faire, le contenu; nen ne me sera plus de mondande common at an plus plus sera plus plus sera plus peut sera peut agréable que d'être en état de vous rendre quelques service et en m'offrant à cela j'ai l'honneur de me nommer,

Monsieur,

Votro T.H. et T.O. Serviteur, P. Van Dyke.

Bois le Duc 17-85.

Mon adresse est

à P. V_{an} D_{yko}

Precepteur de l'école Latine, a Bois le Duc.

in de hinthamerstraat.

TRANSLATION.

"Sir,

"Among some Oriental Manuscripts which a Captain of the Marine living in this town has given me for inspection, if they are of any importance, I have found one, of which I do not know the letters at the first sight, but on comparing them with some alphabets which Mr. Nie buhr has given in the 2nd volume of his volume of his written in the Voyages, I have discovered that it (the Ms.) is written in the Rut as this language. language which Mr. Niebuhr calls Zend. But as this language

is altogether unknown to me, I am not in a position to judge, if this book is of some use to Literature, and, as I do not know, in this country here, anybody who has some knowledge of this language I have taken the course to inform you of this discovery hoping that it can give you some pleasure.

"The Manuscript is written in the form of a large square folio, on perfectly well-preserved vellum in characters sufficiently large and very distinct, without any ornament. The pages are marked over the top in Indian figures from one up to 332; the lines are often intersected by some words written in red in Arabic characters, but, as I suspect, by the word *yoftan* which occurs often, in the Persian language.

"In order to place you in a position to judge, ever so little, about the contents, I annex here some of the first lines which I have copied with all the accuracy that was possible for me:

The second line is written in red, as also the figures $t\hat{a}$ $k\hat{c}$ and $s\hat{c}$ in the fifth and sixth (line). As the Arabic letters are more thin and squeezed together than others, I have not been able to put the fourth line continuously as in the Manuscript; so I have continued it upright (or in an ascending way).

"Here, Sir, there is, what I hope to be, sufficient to enable you to recognise the Manuscript, if it appears to you to be worthy of your attention. I request you to be good enough to honour me with your reply and indicate to me, if that is possible, the contents (of the Ms.), There will be nothing more agreeable to me than to be in a position to do you service, and in offering myself to that (service), I have the honour to name myself

Sir,
Your very humble² and very
obedient servant
P. Van Dyke.

Bois le Due 17-85.

My address is

To P. Van Dyke

Preceptor of the Latin School
at Bois le Due
In Hinthamerstraat³

¹ Vide the original letter above for these lines.
2 "T. H." is an abbreviation of "Trés Humble" and "T. D." of

[&]quot;Très Obediant" or "Très obligé."

3 The last part of the name seems to mean "street."

On the very top of the letter, Anquetil has written 9 lines of his Note, as to (a) when he received the letter, (b) when he replied, and (c) what he wrote in reply. It is difficult to read these lines. M. Daniel Levi has kindly tried to read 4 lines and has left off the rest as illegible. I have tried to read further but not with much success. I give here the reading:

"Recu le 15 Avril 1785
Répondu le 17 Avril 1785, les 5 lign¹, trad.² avec la lecture.
Engage le Capit, a le presenter aux Et Gen, puis déposé â la Bibl, de Leyde. On peut l'envoyer â M, le G. Irving â qui j'en rendrai compte. Je lire le F p ..du......Zoroastre (?) Les lettres en rouge rendre quelle ta que se goftan &c........de Surate 1'B° Ex. commence........celui d' Oxford celui de la Bodl.³

In this Note, Anquetil takes a note of what he had written on 17th April 1785, to Van Dyke, in reply to his letter of 15th April. He read and translated the passage given in facsimile by Van Dyke in his letter, and recommended, that the Ms. may be first presented to the Et. Gen. and then deposited in the Library of Leyde. It can then be sent to M.G. (in France) to whom Anquetil may submit his report.

Anquetil then takes a note of what he said in reply about the Arabic figures and the Persian word 'goftan' written in Arabic characters. I will explain here, the specimen para given by Van Dyke and explained by Anquetil.

The specimen quotation by P. Van Dyke is a mixture of Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian. The characters are Avesta and Arabic or Persian. The first line is the usual Invocation of God in Pazend, the second in Pahlavi, and the third in Persian. I give here the translation:

¹ Abbreviated for 'lignes'.

³ Abbreviated for "traduit"

³ Bodlliein (Library).

^{4 &}quot;Et. Gen" seems to be the abbreviation of Etats Generales (i.e., States General), which was formed in the 17th century and to which the sovereign power was transferred.

The Bibliothèque of Leyde, in which Anquetil recommends the book to be placed, is the well-known Library of Leyden which had come into existence since the foundation of the University of Leyden in 1575 by William the Prince of Orange. It is said to possess a rich collection of Arabic and other oriental manuscripts. A catalogue of its oriental Mss. is said to have been published in six yolumes in 1851-77.

Translation ;-In the name of God, the Giver of Justice.

In the name of the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspand (s).

In the name of God who is Giver, Benevolent and Just.

I have begun in the name of the Creator who is the Knower of Secrets, so that he may give divine guidance (taufiq)¹—for² the praise of god (yak tâ) to every tongue.³ (Recite the prayer) "Ferstuyé upto (tâ kê) staomi ashem" Ashem Vohu. (times)⁴

In Van Dyke's letter, under his specimen Avesta—Pahlavi—Pazend—Persian passage, Anquetil adds correctly a note in his own hand, saying:

"Comm. du Vendidad Sade."

Here the word "comm." is an abbreviation of "commence-ment."

I beg to produce here, as a specimen, a copy of an old Ms. of the Vendidad, written at Naosari on roz 2 Bahman mah 11 Bahman, year 1073 A. Y. (A. C. 1704) i.c., about 70 years before Anquetil published his Zend Avesta. It was written by the well known Dastur Darab Pahlan. (5)

I give below for comparison the commencement.

The first four Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian lines are written in red ink. Then the 5th Avesta line is given in black. The word vad and the figure are also given in red ink. The figure for three is given in Persian.

I The word as written in the specimen passage by Van Dyke, is not correctly written. The word is قرفيق He has given two nuktchs over the letter 'ya' which are unnecessary. It may be the fault of the original writer or his fault in copying.

Lit. 'in 'or 'under'.

³ It is possible, some may read and translate the last Persian words in a different way. As Van Dyke has written the words crosswise in a line sloping upwards, the reading is rather difficult and one can read otherwise.

⁴ The Ferstuyê prayer is known as "Avestâni Patet" i.c., "the Repentance prayer in Avesta." to distinguish it from Patet Pashemâni etc. written in Pazend language. It is the prayer given in Yasna XI. ss 17-18. Here, instead of giving the whole prayer, it is briefly referred to, giving only the first and the last words.

⁵ For the Life and Work of this Dastur, vide my "The Persian Farziat nameh and Kholasah-i- Din of Dastur Darab Pahlan, Text and Version with Notes" (1924).

११। ०३ ८ ००० । मैजलाइम अताक्रम १००१ १६ ००० विकास

We see on comparison that here also, the Invocation is given, in red ink, in Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian languages. The wording of the Invocation varies and we find the variation in many Mss. The scribe has his own way of invoking the name of God. The style is well-nigh the same but the wording differs a little. The Avesta portion which is the beginning proper of the Vendidad Sadé is the same with this difference that in the specimen Ms. which I produce, we have the Pahlavi word vad for the Persian equivalent tâ ké \swarrow in Van Dyke's Ms. The word means 'upto' and it explains the ritual. In such an explanation of the ritual, different scribes vary.

We must note here, that Van Dyke, who seems to have known Arabic characters, has misread, miswritten and misunderstood the Persian words 5 . He seems to have taken the words written jointly to be some word for an Arabic figure. Anquetil's explanation, as given in his Ms. note on the top of the letter, is not legible, but it seems from what I can make out, that he has properly understood the word to be 5 . "tê," i.e., "up to."

Anquetil also explains what Van Dyke says about the oft repeated word, "goftan", in his Ms. of the Vendidad. This word often occurs in the portion which explains the ritual. For example, when the sacred formulas of Ashem Vohû, Yathâ Ahu Vairyô, &c. are to be repeated more than once, the scribes give the instruction in Persian, saying: سربار گفتن و دو بار گفتن و د

I have written to the Librarian of the Library at Leyden, to enquire, if the Ms. was at the Library, and as to who the Captain referred to was.

Mr. P. Van Dyke refers in his letter to M. Niebuhr's 2nd Volume. It seems strange, why Van Dyke refers to Niebuhr's

work for the specimen of, what he calls, the Zend writing and not to Anquetil's own volumes of the Zend Avesta, one of which, the second volume (Tome I, Partie 2, p. 77) contains a specimen of the Zend characters. The Plate attached to p. 77 of this volume contains an example of the very commencement of the Vendidad Sadé under the heading "Commencement du Vendidad Sâdé" with a "Lecture et Traduction litteraire." But it seems that though Anquetil's work was published in 1771, Van Dyke had not seen the volumes. He had heard of the name and fame of Anquetil, but Anquetil's volumes do not seem to have gone in 1785, when he wrote the letter, to his town of Bois le Duc.

Van Dyke's Boi le Duc is "a city of Holland, capital of the province of North Brabant, 28 S. S. E. of Utrecht¹." At present it holds seven churches, an episcopal palace, a grammar school "once attended by Erasmus." It is the seat of a Vicar General. It was called Duke's Wood, because it was once a hunting lodge of the Brabant dukes. When we remember the that Anquetil himself had studied Hebrew, Arabic and a little Persian at Amersfoot, which also is in the Province of Utrecht in Holland, it seems, as it were, quite appropriate, that a preceptor of the province of Utrecht, should in a literary matter, seek the advice of Anquetil who also was educated in Utrecht.2 fact of M. Taillefer, the head of the Dutch factory at Surat, being very kind to Anquetil when he was at Surat, is also explained by the fact that Anquetil had studied at his (Taillefer's) mother country of Holland.3

The first page of Van Dyke's letter bears a Note at the bottom saying:

"Zend Avesta Vol. 2 (I. 2)"

This Note seems to be in the hand of Anquetil himself. He seems to have thought, that the letter may better be attached to the second Volume (i.e., Tome I, Partie 2) as that volume contained his own reading and translation of the commencement of the Vendidad Sadé (on p. 76). The figures "I. 2" in brackets seem to mean Tome I, Partie 2.

^{1.} Encyclopædia Brittanica (9th ed.) Vol. III., p. 864.

^{2.} Vide my paper "Anquetil Du Perron, India as seen by him," read on 16th December 1915 before the B. B. R. A. Society.

^{3.} Ibid.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE"

Then, after some scraps of paper with Notes, the next letter 2. Frederic Münster's Letter. is one from Frederic Münster, Professor of April 1801. We find it among others, others, which is the second fly-leaf of Vol. 2 (Tome the University of Copenhagen, dated 24th The letter with Anquetil's Note runs thus:

Recu le 28 Mai 1801 (?) par M. Grégoire remis à......

Monsieur,

La célébrité de votre nom, acquise à si juste titre, me donne la hardiesse de vous adresser cette lettre pour obtenir de votre zèle pour les sciences que vous avez enrichiés des éclaircissements que personne que vous ne pourra donner, et qui seuls pourront me mettre en état de continuer les recherches auxquelles j'ai depuis quelque temps voué mes heures de loisir.

Vos moments vous sont précieux. Je n'en abuserai pas. Je vous exposerai en peu de mots ce que je souhaite d'obtenir

Mes études sur les inscriptions à cloux de Persépolis, dont j'ai dernièrement publié les resultats dans les actes de notre académie des sciences, m'ont convaingu que, cette classe d'inscriptions qui est alphabètique est écrite en langue Zende. J'en ai taché qui est alphabètique est écrite en langue Zende. J'en ai taché déchifrer quelques lettres: je crois avoir réussi à deviner les entre les lettres dominantes, et à découvrir plusieurs rapports pellvi, Arménien et Géorgien. Mais cela ne suffit pas: j'ai sons des mots lesquelles d'ailleurs étaient assez faciles à recon. sons des mots lesquelles d'ailleurs étaient assez faciles à reconnaitre, parceque les mêmes mots reviennent avec des flexions différentes, quelques fois aussi avec deux ou trois lettres différentes au commencement. C'est pourquoi j'ose vous Crammaira Zanda ani an ma dannant las dáclinaisans et Grammaire Zende, qui, en me donnant les déclinaisons et de consugaisons de cette langue me mettrait en état de les appliquer et de faire un canond access d'an d'objection incoming et de faire un second essai d'en confugation de la faire un second essai d'en confugation de la faire de déchifrér quelquesunes. Je pourrais alors espérer de faire des progrés plus hereux et peut être même de frayer la route sur laquelle on pourrait parvenir en son temps à dévoiler le contenu de ces brécienz monuments de la religion des barses.

Voild, Monsieur, la faveur que j'ose vous demander. Si vous pouvès me l'accorder, comptés je vous en prie sur ma plus vive

reconnaissance. Je suis entièrement à vos orders pour toutes les commissions littéraires dont vous voudrez m'honorez dans nos contrées. Le citoyen Grégoire vous remettra un exemplaire de mes mémoires sur les inscriptions Persépolitaines que j'aurai soin de lui envoyer avec le premier voyageur qui part d'ici pour la France. Je vous prie de l'accepter comme une marque du respect que je vous ai voué depuis ma jeunesse. Veuillez bien en agréer les assurances.

FREDERIC MÜNSTER,

Professeur de l'Université de Copenhague et Membre de l'Académie des Sciences Danoise.

liste des......illuminés depuis la fondation de la secte en 1776 jusqu'à la découverte de ses écrits originaux en 1786.

A (Spart-Ingolstadt fondateur de la Weihaupt, Professr en droit acus) addition.....

Munster (son nom de guerre), professeur en théologie à Copenhague (p. 123).

dans les Mem. pour servir a l'Histoire du Jacobinisme par M. l'ab. Barruel. Tom 4. 1799 ch. 8 p. 287.

AU CITOYEN,

Anquetil Duperon,

Rue Chaussée d'Antin, ā Paris.

Vis à vis la rue de provence,

je tiêns cette addresse de M. Grégoire,

Translation.

Sir,

The celebrity of your name, very rightly acquired, gives me the courage to address this letter to you, in order to obtain from your zeal for the sciences which you have enriched, some explanations, which nobody other than you can give, and which alone can put me in a position to continue the researches, to which, I have, since some time, devoted my hours of leisure.

Your time is precious to you. I will not misuse that. I will explain to you in few words what I desire to obtain from your, kindness.

"ZEND AVESTA L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE" My study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis of which I have lately published the result in the records of our Académie of Sciences has convinced me that this class of inscriptions, which is alphabetic, is written in Zend language. I have tried WHICH IS SIPHEDUCK, IS WILDHOU IN ZEHR ISHBURGE. I Have then to decipher some letters. I believe I have succeeded to guess the two principal vowels and to discover several resemblances between Persepolitan letters and those of the Zend, Pahlvi, Armenian and Gregorian alphabets. But that does not suffice. I have been altogether stopped short by the impossibility of deciphering the terminations of words, which in other respects, were very easy to recognise, because the same words recur with and a strong the same words recur with different reflexions, sometimes also with two or three different different reactions, sometimes also with two or three americal letters in the beginning. This is, why I request you to be good a sour Zond Crammar. enough to communicate to me an extract of your Zend Grammar, Which, by giving me the declinations and conjugations of the language Will place me in a position to apply them to these Itanguage wan prace me in a position to apply offer to decipher Some. I can then hope to make more successful progress, and, until one on which one can encound in perhaps, also to open the ways on which one can succeed, in his time, to unravel the contents of these precious monuments of the religion of the Persians.

This is, Sir, the favour which I venture to ask of you. If you will be able to grant it, count, I pray you, upon my very sincere will be able to grant it, count, I pray you, upon my very smeete all literary errands (or orders) with which you will be pleased Citizan or framan Gragory will to honour me in our country. Citizen or freeman Gregory will continue on the Descapolitan Inscriptions Send you a copy of my Memoirs on the Persepolitan Inscriptions Which I will take care to send to him with the first voyager who account it as a Which I will take care to send to him with the hist voyager who to ken of respect which I have vowed to you to accept it as a sound enough to accept it as a surrances. Be good enough to accept my assurances.

Professor of the University of Copenhagen and Member of the Danish Academy of Sciences. The freeman Gregoire seems to be Henry Gregorie (1750-1831), who was a bishop of France. He was chosen one of the clerov at the alastion of the States General

deputies of the clergy at the election of the States General in 1789.1

I will finish this paper with a few Notes on an Extract on a $N_{
m otes}$ on Elephanta. piece of paper about Elephanta. There is the second folio (marked XIII) which is of local importance to a piece of paper attached to the first page of

¹ Beeton's Dictionary of Geography and Biography.

us. It refers to our famous Elephanta caves. Anquetil when he was living in Surat, had come down here in 1760 to see these caves. He did not go there via Bombay as travellers generally do now. A year before he came to Elephanta, he was under great obligations to the English who had helped him in his time of need, perhaps more than his own French people. But in July 1760, there happened an event at Surat which estranged him from the English. So, he chose to visit the Elephanta caves, rather stealthily from the direction of Salsette which was then under the rule of the Mahrattas. He crossed the harbour side from Trombay in a boat which took him two hours to reach the island. He has described his visit of the Elephanta caves in his volume of Preliminary discourse which forms the first volume of his Zend Avesta.

Now I give here the Note (3) of Anquetil and my translation:

"On écrit de Bombaye que partie de l'une des trois figures colossales de la fameuse caverne de l'Elephant afin (?) écroulée sans qu'on sait pas comment. Cet evenement est d'autant plus donné que les Portugais derniers (?) maitre de cette isle et poussé par un zéle superstitieux entreprirement en vain de detruire ces statues même avec la canon. Le vaste cavité que les renferme et qui a été pratiqué dans un roc très dur, presente un temple souterrain de S0 à 90 pieds de long sur 40 de large, et supporte par deux rangées de colonnes placés à une égale distance entre elles.

"Au fond sont placés les trois colosses dont la surface (de frag^{nt} de la il a face) de l'un comporte au moins cinq pieds de long; quelques unes de peintures autour des corniches conservent

¹ Vide for this event, my paper before this Society, on Anquetil Du Perron p. 44.

² I may say here, that I had requested, last year, Mr. Carter, the Collector and Development Officer of the Salsette, to kindly determine the site of Anquetil's travels and to prepare an itinerary plan of his travels. I had the pleasure of visiting with him, a part of Anquetil's itinerary on the Coorla side from which he crossed over to Elephanta. I beg to draw the attention of members, interested not only in Anquetil's journey, but in the question of the past and present of the Salsette, to his paper on the subject, read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay. "Note on the Historical Geography of the Thana Konkan and of Salsette" and "Anquetil Du Perron in Salsette" (Your. Anth Sty. Vol. XIII No. 7, pp 15-29.)

³ The passage is an extract from an European periodical of his times Anquetil has copied it on a small piece of paper which is attached to the second folio. It is written in an awfully bad hand, and, had it not been for M. Levi, I would have probably given it up. I have taken the liberty of correcting M. Levi's reading here and there.

⁴ M. Levi reads this as "On ne vit."

encore leur premiere fraicheur, quoique vraisemblablement elles datent du même temps que la construction du temple. Le bas de cet edifice est generalment couvert d'eau sans qu'on ait pu parvenir à l'affranchir, et il est probable que l'écroulement arrive est provenu de celle circonstance. Ni les livres ni la tradition pas même des conjectures n'offrent de lumiere sur l'origin de ce merveilleux ouvrage. Il faut esperer que le comité etabli dans l'Inde sous les auspices du Gouvernment pour faire des recherches sur les antiquités de ce pays parviendra à obtenir quelques renseignements des Bramines du continent." Citoyen Prane ? No. 123. 26, ventose, lundi, 24 Fevr. (? cent.) p. 1 10 ventose.

Translation:—One writes from Bombay that a part of one of the three colossal figures of the famous cave of the island of Elephanta has fallen down without one knowing how. This event is rather surprising because the Portuguese (who were) the late masters of this island and (who were) impelled by a superstitious zeal, had attempted in vain to destroy these statues even with the cannon. The vast cavity, which contains them and which has been made in a very hard rock, holds an underground temple, 80 to 90 ft. in length, over 40 in breadth and (which is) supported by two rows of columns placed at equal distances between them. At the furthest end are placed the three columns, the surface of one of which permits at least five feet of length. Some of the paintings round the cornices still preserve their original freshness, although probably their date is the same (i.e., as old) as that of the construction of the temple. The lower part of this edifice is generally covered with water without one being able to succeed to refresh himself, and it is probable, that the fall (of the column) which has happened has resulted from this circumstance. Neither books, nor tradition, nor also conjectures offer any light on the origin of this wonderful work. One must expect, that the Committee, appointed in India under the auspices of the Government to make researches about the antiquities of this country, will succeed to obtain some information from the Brahamins of the No. 123. 26 Ventose. 1 Monday continent " (Citizen 24th February () p. 1. 10 ventose.

Now, in Anquetil's account of his visit to the Elephanta caves given in his first volume, we find the following reference to three figures in the caves:

¹ Ventose is "the sixth month of the calendar of the first French Republic from February 19th or 20th to March 20th." Citoyen....seems to be the name of a journal in which Anquetil read the Note.

"A l'extrémité opposèe, (8)¹ sont trois figures d'hommes assis sur des sieges sépares et sur une même ligne; celui du milieu a quatre bras et est entièrement nud: ils sont accompagnés de Gonès à tête d'éléphant. Ce grouppe est composé de huit figures de moyenne grandeur et mutilées. Celle du milieu qui est plus grande, parait avoir la main sur le sein d'une femme qui n'a plus de tête."²²

Translation:—At the opposite extremity (8) are three figures of men sitting on separate seats and in the same line. That in the middle has four arms and is entirely naked. They are accompanied by Gonès (Ganesh) with the head of elephant. This group is composed of eight figures of moderate grandeur and mutilated. That in the middle, which is larger, appears to have the hand on the breast of a woman which has no more the head.

I think, that the "trois figures" in the above extract attached to the second volume are the "trois figures" referred to by Anquetil in his above account of his visit of the Elephanta caves. Thus, he took an interest in what was said in the Journal. He therefore copied, on a piece of paper, the extract and attached it to his volume. The three figures seem to be those which we generally taken to be those of Siva, Brahma and Vishnu. 3

We gather the following facts from the above extract attached by Anquetil to his second volume:—1. One of the three colossal figures in the cave had fallen down at the end of the 18th century, in some year after 1771. 2. The Portuguese had, during their occupation of Bombay and the adjoining islands, attempted to destroy some of the statues in the caves with cannons 4 but with no complete success. 3. The writer thinks that the fall of one of the statues may be due to the moisture of underground water there. 4. Some pictures round the cornices preserved their original freshness at the time. 5. Neither books, nor tradition, nor conjectures could throw any light at that time upon the origin of the wonderful work of the cave. 6. The Government of Bombay, had, at that time, appointed a Committee to make researches about the antiquities of that part of the country, especially by means of inquiries from the Brahmins.

2 Tome I, P. I., p. ccccxxii.
3 Rock-cut Temples of India by James Ferguson (1845) p. 55.

¹ This number refers to the figure in the plan of Elephanta on Pl. IV. p. eccxeiv of vol. I.

⁴ We must bear in mind that the canons of those days were not like those of our times. Again, out of those that were commonly used, only the smallest and lightest must have been used, because larger ones could not be carried across the harbour and over the hill.

One of these statements gives us the approximate date (about 1771) of the fall of one of the three colossal figures. Another statement tells us that our Government was encouraging antiquarian researches even in the end of the 18th century.

As to the statement, that the Portuguese had attempted to damage the figures in the cave, it seems, that the attempt was made about two hundred years before Anquetil's time. A writer, John Hinghen Van Linschoten, who wrote in 1579, alludes to some mischief at the hands of the Portuguese. He says: "It is thought that the Chinos (which are very ingenious workmen) did make it when they used to traffique in the countrie of India. These Pagodas and buildings are now whollie left, overgrowne, and spoyled since the Portugales had it under their subjections." 1

Anquetil's own version of the damage to the statues, as given in his Zend-Avesta (Tome I Partie I p. 422 n. 1) surprizes us, as he says, that the Hindus themselves were to a certain extent responsible, though unwittingly, for some of the damage. He says:—Lorsque les Marates curent repris Salcette, pour faire tomber le plâtre avec lequel les Portugais avoient masqué Plusieurs figures, ils tirerent dans le Pagodes de Monpeser and d'Eléphante quelques coups de canon, qui firent sauter avec le Plâtre une parti des bas-reliefs. Voyant l'effet de la canonade, ils la firent cesser et prirent le parti de dégager les figures en Stant le plaster avec le marteaur.

Translation:—When the Marathas took Salsette, in order to remove the Plaster with which the Portuguese had covered several figures, they took in the pagodas of Monpeser and Elephanta some pieces of cannon which made fall with the plaster a part of the bas-relief. Seeing the effect of the Cannonade, they ceased and took the course of clearing the figures by removing the plaster with hammers.

According to this statement, both the Portuguese and the Hindus damaged the statues—the Portuguese wittingly and the Hindus unwittingly. The Portuguese, out of their improper zeal for their own religion and their dislike for another religion, Overed up, the features of the statues, &c., by plasters. When he Mahrathas came to power, they, finding that the figures were Vered up by plasters, and finding that the plasters could not removed by ordinary methods began removing these by mons. But finding, that this process further damaged the

As quoted by Dr. Burgess, in his "Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta."

statues, they ceased doing so and attempted to remove the plasters carefully with hammer. Dr. Burgess says about the above statement of Anquetil that "he had perhaps jumbled his information."

We read the following different accounts about the damage to the figures in Burgess's Rock-Cut Temples of Elephanta:— "12. De Couto mentions that in his time many of the sculptures had been broken' 'by the frolic of the soldiers of the fleet that visited the places' and adds-' what was spared by the soldiers, is so badly cared for, that it is grievous to see thus destroyed one of the most wonderful things in the world;' and from the way in which he speaks of its having been defaced in his own time, we may well infer that it had then only recently ceased to be used.² Linschoten visited it in 1579 and writes :- 'These Pagodas and buildings are now whollie left overgrowne, and spoyled, since the Portugales had it under their subjection." Fryer, in 1673 says: it was 'Defaced by the Portugals who have this island also; ' and Pyke in 1712 says: 'The Portuguese now fodder all their cattle there in the rainy seasons and to defend them from the violence of the monsoons: and lately one of their Fidalgos, to divert himself with the echo which is here most admirable, fired a great gun into it with several shots, which has broken some of the pillars.' Grose evidently found this later circumstance remembered, but materially exaggerated in his time: he says the figures 'had also continued in a tolerable state of preservation and wholeness considering the remoteness of their antiquity until the arrival of the Portuguese, who made themrselves masters of the place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry not suffering any idols but their own, they must have been at even some pains to maim them and defaced them, as they now remain, considering the hardness of the stone. It is said they even brought field pieces to the demolition of the images, which so greatly deserved to be spared for the unequal led curiosity of them".

¹ The Rock temples of Elephanta or Ghârâpuri described and illustrated, by J. Burgess, M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S. p. 55.

² Ibid.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ZOROASTER.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

There is as great a diversity of opinion among writers, ancient and modern, about the country of the birth of Zoroaster, as that about his age. Some Introduction. place it in the East and some in the West. Even China in the furthest East and Syria and Europe in the West are mentioned as the countries of his birth. De Pastoret. says: "Je ne m'arrêterai point à prouver son existenceJe ne sais comment il arrive que la postérité ignorent souvent où fut le berceau des hommes célèbres. On diroit que le hasard, en cachant les lieux qui les ont vu naître, a voulu s'unir à la raison, pour nous prouver que l'univers entier doit être regardé comme la patrie des Sages qui l'éclairent. Celle du législateur des Perses et mal connue. Son origine et l'époque de son existence même sont contestées.3 Mais quelle fut sa patrie? Ceux-ci la placent dans la Chine; ceux-la su sein de l'Europe; d'autres en Syrie⁴ (Hyde, Chap. 24 p. 315. Med jidi, Bundari, et plusieurs autres, historiens. Voyez aussi Hyde, p. 319, et les Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. 31, pag. 371)."6

Anquetil Du Perron said in 1761: "Vingt endroits différenses disputent cette gloire. Si Zoroastre, par exemple, reparois sit sur la terre, se reconnôitroit-il aux portraits que l' on a faits de lui. Né moins de six cens ans avant Jesus-Christ, il serait assurément surpis de se voir renvoyé au-delà de la guerre de Troie. L'Adorateur du Tems sans bornes (l'Eternel), principe de tout ce qui existe, entendroit-il son nom, sous celui de Prêtro des Etoiles? Issu du sang des Rois de Perse, et Mede de naissance, que diroit-il de se trouver relégué dans la Palestine au service des Esclaves de ses Peres? Telles sont les métamorphoses que produit quelque fois l'Histoire". (Zend Avesta Tome 1, seconde partie, p. 5).

Anquetil does not give the names of the 20 places spoken of as the country of Zoroaster, but, we gather the following few names from different writers: (1) Bactria (Balkh). 2. Urumiah. 3. Shiz and 4. Raê (in Media). 5. Pars or Persia proper. 6. Palestine, where he is associated with Jeremiah. 7. Europe. 8. Egypt. 9. Assyria (Assur). 10. Istakhar (Mount Nepasht). 11. Chaldæa. 12 Babylon. 13. Syria. 14. China. 15. Pamphylia (in Asia Minor). 16 Proconnessus (an island of the Propontis) 6. (17.) To the above list, I will add, on the authority of a recent Persian book, named Farâzastân (p. 234 1. 5), of which I will speak later on in detail, Naosari in Gujarat, a province of India, as the 17th place claiming the glory of being Zoroaster's birthplace.

¹ Translation.—Twenty different places claim this honour (of being the birth-place of Zoroaster). If Zoroaster, for example, were to reappear on the earth, will he recognize himself among the portraits which they have drawn of him? Born, less than six hundred years before Jesus Christ, he shall assuredly be surprized to see himself put back before the Trojan war. The Adorator of Time without limit (the Eternal), the principle of all that exists, will he hear his name as that of the Priest of Stars? Descended from the blood of the kings of Persia and Media in (the matter of) birth, what will he say to find himself relegated to Palestine in the service of the slaves of his fore-fathers? Such are the metamorphoses which History produces.

² Tabari places him in Jerusalem. Vide below, the author quoted in the Sharastân-i Chehâr Chaman. Medjidi referred to by Hyde, Religionis Persarum, 2nd ed. of 1760, p. 315.

³ Vide M. De Pastoret, quoted above.

⁴ Shârastan-i Chehâr Chaman, Ms. of the Mulla Feroze Library (411 VIII 56, and Rehatsek's catalogue p. 204) folio 56b.

⁵ Baidawi referred to by Hyde 2nd ed. p. 317. This mount Nepasht is the Daz-i Napisht (Dinkard. Vide Zend Pahlavi Glossary, by Hoshangji, Introduction, p. XXXII) or karitā-i Napesht (Virnāf-amoh I, 7) of Pahlavi books. Vide my article in J. R. A. S., April 1918, p. 311. Vide Reference to this article in G. Le. Strange's Nuzhat-al Qulub of Hamdulla Mustawfi p. 190.

⁶ David Shea's History of the Early kings of Persia, translated from Mirkhond, p. 274.

Among Parsee writers, the work in Gujarati, entitled "Jarthosht-nameh," (i.e., the Book of Zoroaster) by the late Mr. Kharshedji Rustomji Cama, is held, as a standard work on Zoroaster, based on the authority of the Avesta writings. Therein, the author says:—" અવી ગીતે, આએ માઢા પેગમખરની જનમભુમી વીરો, આગલા જમાનાથી લોકોમા રાકછે, તે તદન ભાંજી નાખવાની હાલતમાં આપણે હજાર આવેલા હાઇએ એવું લાગતું નથી."

i.c., "Thus, there is a difference of opinion about the birth-place of this great Prophet among people, since olden times. It does not appear, that we have even now come to the position of removing that difference."

Among foreign i.e., non-Parsee writers, the work of Prof. Jackson of America, is a standard work. He says:2 "The question of Zoroaster's native place is a subject that has been much debated. The problem is more complicated because of the uncertainty which exists as to whether his birth place and early home was necessarily also the chief scene of the teacher's activity. . . . If we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of Atropatene or Adarbaijan, to the west of Media, or even more precisely the neighbourhood about Lake Urumiah. There is ground, furthermore, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Adarbaijan,—a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains, and that Zoroaster's mother was from the Median Raghâ (Râï)."

Object of this The object of this Paper is two-fold: (1) Paper. First of all, I want to speak on the whole question of the birth-place of Zoroaster. In doing so, in order to make my paper somewhat complete in itself, I will go over some ground already trodden over and go over some fresh ground as well. I will try to collect all the materials in this paper. (2) Then, I will specially draw the attention of my readers to the Pahlavi treatise of the Shatroihâ-i Airan, which has recently come to light. It was published for the first time in I896 by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspii Minocherjee Jamaspa-

[્]રે પેગામબર અશા જરથારતના જનમારાના એહવાલ (અવસ્તા ઉપરથી). બનાવનાર ખરશેલ્છ રશતમજી કામા. બીજી આકૃતિ (૧૮૯૦), પા. ૪૬.

² Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by A. V. Williams Jackson (1899), p. 16.

sana.¹ I translated it for the first time in English and Gujarati with Notes and published my Translation in 1899. I will speak later on, at some length, on the subject of this treatise and my translation. In that Pahlavi treatise, a place named Âmûi (which name can also be read as Âmvi) is mentioned as being in Âzarbaizân and as the place of Zoroaster. Now, in my flying tour of Persia last year, I had the pleasure of visiting Âzarbaizân, its capital Urumiâh, and a village named Âmvi, which I beg to identify as the Âmûi or Âmvi of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân. It is this visit that has led me, on my return, to further study, and I beg to submit this paper as the result of that study.

As to the materials to determine the question, we have, both our own, or what we may call, Iranian masources. terials and foreign materials. Among the foreign writers, the principal are the Classical writers. In order to make my paper a little complete, though not perfectly complete, in itself, before coming to our Iranian books, I will briefly say a few words on the Classical writings.

II.

CLASSICAL AND MODERN WESTERN WRITERS.

The very first question is, whether Zoroaster belonged to the Western Classical Fast or to the West—to Balkh (Bactria) in the East or to Media in the West. Let us first examine this question from the materials supplied by Western Classical writers. Prof. A. V. W. Jackson has well-nigh exhaustively examined the materials supplied by these Classical writers. So, I will not dwell long over this branch of the subject but, thanking him, briefly sum up here the result of the materials collected by him.²

The following Classical writers speak of Bactria as the country of Zoroaster: 1 Cephalion (A. C. 120), 2 Theon (130),

¹ It is included in his Pahlavi Texts from p. 18 to p. 24. The Texts were published in two parts. The first part was published in 1896. The whole, with the second part, was published in 1913, with an Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria.

² Zoroaster the prophet of Ancient Iran. Appendix IV pp. 186-205. Vide also, the article (art. 9), headed "Stellen der Alten über Zoroastrisches (i.e., Passages in olden writings on Zoroastrianism), by Fr. Windischmann, in his "Zoroastrische Studien" published by Fr. Spiegel in 1863 pp. 260-313. Vide the translation of this article by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, in his "Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Classics," pp. 65-141.

3 Justin 1 (120), 4 Arnobius, a native of Africa, who lived about 300 A.C. 5 Eusebius (264-340), 6 Epiphanius of Constantia (320-402), 7 Ammianus Marcellinus, who went with Emperor Julian to fight against the Persians (363 A.C.), 8 Paulus Orosius, who passed over from Spain to Africa in A.C. 413, 9 St. Augustine (354-430), 10 Isidorus, Bishop of Seville in Spain (570-636), 11 Hugo de Sancto Victore (1st half of 12th century).

The following Classical writers speak of Zoroaster as belonging to the West—to Media or Persia (Pars): 1. The Elder Pliny² (A.C. 23-79), 2 Clemens Alexandrinus (200), 3 Origenes (185-254), 4 Diogenes Laertius (210), 5 Porphyrius (233-304), 6 Lactantius (300), 7 Greegory of Tours (538-593), 8 Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (7th Century), 9 Georgius Syncellus (800), 10 Suidas ³ (970), 11 Michael Glycas (1150).

Prof. Jackson draws the following "estimate of the Classical allusions": "The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appelatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and

¹ He is a historian of uncertain date, but of not later than 4th century; perhaps 2nd century.

² Pliny speaks of there being possibly two Zoroasters. He says: "Whether there was only one Zoroaster, or whether in later times there was a second person of that name, is a matter which still remains undecided." (Natural History, Bk. XXX Chap. 2. Bostock and Riley's Translation of 1856. Vol. V p. 422). Further on, while speaking of Professors of the art of magic, he names among others one "Zaratus of Media" (Ibid). Thus, we see, that Pliny himself speaks of one personage as Zoroaster and another as Zaratus of Media. It is of the first personage, Zoroaster, that he says that it was said that there were more personages than one of that name, and that he lived, according to Eudoxus, 6,000 years before Plato, and according to Hermippus, 5000 years before the Trojan war.

As to the word "magic", used above by Pliny, we must take the word, in the sense, as said by Webster, of "the science or practice of evoking spirits or educing the occult powers of nature, and performing things wonderful by their aid." Natural magic is "the art of employing the powers of nature to produce effects apparently supernatural."

³ This writer also thinks that there were two Zoroasters (Jackson's Zoroaster p. 190 j.)

western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition."

Prof. Karl Geldner, in his article on Zoroaster, says: "The later Greek writers place him with almost one consent in the East of Iran and more particularly in Bactria."²

Let us note here in passing, that as alluded to above, some

More than one Zeronster according to some Classical writers. of the Classical writers speak of there beeing more than one Zoroaster. As seen above, Plinsays so. Suidas (about A.D. 970) "assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso Median sage." Accord-

ing to David Shea, the translator of Mirkhond's Rauzat-us-safa, six Zoroasters were counted up by Stanley. He says: "The profound Stanley, in his Lives of the Philosphers, reckons up six Zoroasters—the Chaldwan, or Assyrian; the Bactrian, contemporary with Ninus; the Persian or Medo-Persian; the Pamphylean; the Proconnesian, mentioned by Pliny; and the Babylonian, the master of Pythagoras, according to Apuleius. This learned critic remarks, that we must not be surprised if the name of Zoroaster, one of the benefactors of the human race, be given to those, who in after ages distinguished themselves in a similar career." 4

I will close this section by giving here the views of a few of the modern writers who have specially Modern Writers. Written on the subject about Zoroaster's Birth-place.

1 Anquetil Du Perron, after saying, as said above, that about 20 places claim the honour of being the birth-place of Zoroaster, speaks of Urmi or Urumiäh as the birth place of Zoroaster. He says: "Cependent, malgré l'obscurité qui semble couvrir tout ce qui regarde Zoroastre, je crois avoir prouvé assez positivement dans le Mémoire dont j'ai parlé plus haut ⁵ que ce

¹ Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 191.

² Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 820

S Jackson's Zoroaster, p. 190.

^{4 &}quot;History of the Early kings of Persia, translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond, entitled the Rauzat-us-Safa," by David Shea (1832) p. 274.

⁵ Mémoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Tomo XXXI p. 370 et suive.

Legislateur est né à Urmi, Ville de l'Aderbedjan; et ce fait explique les surnoms de Mede, de Perse, de Perso-Meade, que dissérens Auteurs lui ont donnés." ¹

- (2) M. De Pastoret, who wrote in 1788, agrees with Anquetil's view. He says: Abulfeda, et M. Anquetil pensent qu'il étoit né dans la Perse, et c'est à Urmi qu'ils accordent la gloire de lui avoir donné le jour. Leur opinion est la plus vraisemblable...On pourroit citer d'ailleurs un assez grand nombre d'écrivains, qui, en célébrant Zoroaster, ne le désignent jamais que par les surnoms de Perse ou de Perso-Mède." 3
- 3. Sir John Malcolm speaks of him as a "native of Azarbaijan" and says that "he was born at the town of Oormia."4
- 4. Sir Henry Rawlinson speaks of Azarbaijan, and therein, of the mountain of Takht-i Suleiman or Shiz as Zoroaster's place. ⁵
- 5. According to Sir H. Rawlinson, another writer, who preceded him, also pointed to Azarbaijan as Zoroaster's place. He quotes the writer to say: "The first appearance of Zoroaster seems to have been in Azarbaijan; and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz in Media."

¹ Zend Avesta T. I, P. II pp. 5-6.

Translation.—However, notwithstanding the obscurity which seems to cover all which relate to Zoroaster, I believe to have proved sufficiently positively in the Memoir, of which I have spoken above, that this legislator was born at Urmi, a city of Aderbedjan; and this fact explains the surnames of Median, Persian and Perso-Median which different authors have given him.

² Zend-Avesta, T. 1, part 2, p. 5. Mémoire de l'Acad. t. 31, p. 371. Abulfeda, t. 3 p. 58.

³ Zoroastre, Confucius et Mahomet, par M. De Pastoret (1788), p. 6.

Translation.—Abulfeda and M. Anquetil think that he was born in Persia and it is to Urmi (Urumiah) that they give the glory of having given him birth. Their opinion is very probable. One can cite, moreover, a number of writers who, on speaking of him, never designate him under any other surname than that of Persian and Perso-Median.

⁴ Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd edition of 1829 vol. I p. 45 n. s.

⁵ Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Echatana. Journal of the Geographical Society of London, Vol. X (1841) pp. 65-158.

⁶ Ibid p. 68.

[&]quot;Modern Traveller, Persia and China Vol. I p. 59. (Probably from Texeira's History of Persia.)"

- 6. Haug says that "his home seems to have been in Bactria, which is called Berckhdha armaiti in the Gathas, and Bakhdhi (a corruption of the former) in the Vendidad."
- 7. Harlez is uncertain and hesitating, but still he is inclined to take Media as his birth place. He says: La question pourrait se résoudre facilement si l'on osait affirmer que le pays qui parlait la langue de l'Avesta et pour lequel ce livre fut composé est necessairement celui où le fondateur du Mazdéisme vit le jour: on verra que ce pays était bien probablement la Médie. Mais la conclusion dépasserait les prémices. Il en serait de même' si l'on prétendait que sa terre natale a dû être celle oû il exerca son action."²
- S. Dr. Mills says: "As to the further question, 'Who was Zarathushtra and when and where did he live'? diversity of opinion still prevails.".....Were the Gathas first sung in the East or the West of Iran? I would here say that I regard this point as especially open I think that the scene of the Gathic and original Zoroastrianism was the North-East of Iran.³
- 9. Prof. Jackson says: "Apparently he was born somewhere in Âzarbaijân. The places specially mentioned are Urumiäh, Shiz (Av. Chaêchista, probably anc. Urumiäh) and the river Darej." 4
- 10. Dr. Moulton agrees with Prof. Jackson and says that "Zoroaster was born in Azarbaijan in Western Iran, but there is at least a good case for supposing him to have preached in Bactria in Western Iran." ⁵
- 11. Prof. Geldner says: "As to the birth place of Zoroaster, the Avesta is silent. In later tradition two places contended for this honour: the older and more widely spread story made him a native of Rai (Rhagæ) in Media, another of Shiz, the capital of Atropatene, also in Media. It is hard to decide whether both traditions rest merely upon priestly pretensions of a later date or whether one of them is not perhaps authentic."

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¹ Essays on the Parsees, 2nd Ed. of 1879, edited by West, p. 297.

² Avesta. Introduction, p. XXIV.

³ S. B. E., Vol. XXXI, Introduction, pp. 22 and 27.

⁴ Zoroaster, Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 205.

⁵ Early Zoroastrianism, p. 83.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. Vol. 24, p. 821, Col. 1.

- 12. Another writer in the same work in his article on Urumiah says that "according to an old tradition, Urmia was the birthplace of Zoroaster." ¹
- 13. A third writer in the same work, in his article on Azerbijan, speaks of its town of Urumiah as "the supposed birthplace of Zoroaster." 2
- 14. Ferdinand Justi³ first refers to the Avesta passage which places Zoroaster on the banks of the Dareja in Airyana Vaejô. He then says that he was born at Raê (Ragha) and from there went to Azerbaijân. He then refers to the authority of Abulfeda⁴ who places him in Azerbaijân.
- 15. Dr. Geiger, in his "Vaterland und Zeitalter der Avesta" (1884), points to East Iran as Zoroaster's country.
- 16. Dr. Emil J. Von Dillon, points to Media as Zoroaster's country. He produces several evidences to show that the Home of the Avesta was in the West, in Media. So, the home of Zoroaster, who wrote the Avesta, was also in Media.
 - 17. Spiegel speaks of Media as the birthplace of Zoroaster.
- 18. Prof. Darmesteter speaks of Media as the traditional "native place of Zoroaster... Although epic legends place the cradle of Mazdean power in Bactria, at the court of King Vîshtâsp, Bactria was only the first conquest of Zoroaster, it was neither his native place, nor the cradle of his religion" (S. B. E. Vol IV Introduction III, 15 p. XLVII).

The writers of the volume of "the Persian Empire and the West" in "The Cambridge Ancient History series," write (1926 pp.206-7): "He (Zoroaster) neither was born nor worked in Persia proper, the home of the Achaemenidae.....The scene of Zoroaster's activity was not Persia proper: it was Media, according to one theory, Bactria according to another; or it may have included both regions."

¹ Ibid., Vol. 24, p. 12, Col. 2.

² Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 168.

³ Handbuch der Zend-sprache (1864), p. 122.

⁴ Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica, Arabice of E. Duobus edited by H.O. Fleischer (1831), p. 151. I refer, at some length, to this author, later on.

⁵ As referred to by Dr. Emil J. Von Dillon. Vide the translation of Dr. Dillon's article by Mr. T. A. Walsh, published by the Bombay Samachar Press in 1887, under the title of "The Home and Age of the Avesta," pp. 2.4.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 4-10.

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III.

IRANIAN MATERIALS. VARIOUS SUCCESSIVE QUESTIONS BASED UPON THEM.

I will now proceed to examine the question of the Birthplace of Zoroaster on the authority of our Iranian materials. I will first refer to the ancient Iranian books i.e., to the Avesta and Pahlavi books, and then I will refer to the later Iranian books of Mahomedan writers. While referring to the Avesta and Pahlavi books, I will proceed step by step to the consideration of questions suggested by the reply of each preceding question. The Questions and Replies are the following:

- (A) Where was Zoroaster born? In the House of Pôurushaspa.
- (B) The House of Pôurushaspa. Where was it situated?
 On the Banks of the Dareja river.
- (C) The River Dareja. Where did it flow? It was an affluent of the Dâiti.
- (D) The River Dâiti. Where did it flow? In Δiryana Vaêja (Irân Vej).
- (E) Airyana Vaêja. Where was it situated? In Âtarôpatakân.
- (F) Âtarôpatakân. Where was it situated? It is the modern Âzerbaijân.
- (G) Âtarôpatakân or Âzerbaijân. In which part of this country did Zoroaster's Birth take place? In the district of Mount Asravant and lake Chaêchasta, the modern Urumiâh.
- (H) Urumiâh. In which town of Urumiâh did Zoroaster's Birth take place? In the town Âmvi or Amui.

TV.

(A) WHERE WAS ZOROASTER BORN? IN THE HOUSE OF PÔURUSHASPA.

We have two direct references to the birthplace of Zoroaster in the Avesta, which say, that he was born in the house of Pôurushaspa.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ZOROASTER

There is a conversation in the Haoma Yasht (Yaçna IX) bet-Direct Referen. ween Zoronster and Haoma, the founder ces in the Avesta of the ritual of the Haoma juice, (a) Haoma Yasht. appears before Zoroaster as a handsome when he (Zoroaster) was conscerating fire for a ritual (âtarem Corosetor's inquiring as to who he was the parent declared him personage, in the morning, in the Hâvan gâh, Zoroaster's inquiring, as to who he was, the person declared himself to be Haoma, who was the discoverer of the Haoma plant and its ritual, and recommended Zoroaster to pound Haoma twigs and drink the juice, as other great benevolent philanthropic personages (Saoshyants) had done before him. Zoroaster paid homage to the person before him, and asked him, as to who the personages were that followed his ritual and drank Haoma Juice, and as to what advantages they derived from the ritual Juce, and as to what advantages they derived from one recommendation. Haoma named Vivanghhvat, Athwya, Thrita and Pourushaspa as the personages who had drank Haoma juice With ritual and who had the consequent advantage of having born to them great personages like Yimô Khshaêta (Jamshed), Thractaona (Faridun), Urvakhshaya and Keresaspa (two brothers) and Zarathushtra. Here, Haoma who addresses Zoroaster speaks of him as born in the house of Pôurushaspa.

He says (Yaçna Hû IX, 13):

שלים נפילחינים באל ביאלגיל הריחילים באליה באליה היאל ביאליה היאל ביאליה היאליה באליה באליה היאליה היאליה ביאליה היאליה היאלים הי

Translation.—Thou, O Holy Zarathushtra! wast born in the house of Pôurushaspa, as one opposed to the Daevas and as the follower of the way of Ahura.

The Pahlavi version of this passage runs thus:

المان من عمرار هارمدها د طعا ممم سام الم المان المان المان المان المان المان المان سام المان سام المان المان المان المان المان سام المان المان

¹ Ha 9, s. 43. Spiegel's Pahlavi Yagna p. 73, II. 2-4. Pide Dr. M. B. Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yasht (1924), p. 23.

Translation.—Then, from him, you, Holy Zarathushtra, wero born in the house of Pourushaspa, as one opposed to the Daevas (and) as the follower of the religion of Ahura Mazda.

The next direct reference is in the 19th Chapter of the Vendidad. This chapter is spoken of as a brief Zar-(b) The Vendithusht-nameh 1 i.e., the Book of (the life of) dåd.

Zoroaster. Darmesteter speaks of it as "The Revelation" and as "the framework of the Vendîdâd."2 French translation, he speaks of it as "Lutte et Revelation" i.e. "Contest (with Ahriman) and Revelation."3 In this Avestaic Zarthusht-námeh, we have an account of Zoroaster's attempts to withstand the temptations of the Evil spirit and of his converse with the Higher Powers. Ahriman asked one of his host, a Druj, a demon named Bûiti, to smite Zarathushtra. thushtra withstood the machinations of the Druj with his firm belief in the old Mazdayasnán religion and with the recital of prayers, before the waters of the good Daitiriver. He went forward to repell the attack with material and spiritual weapons. (s. 4). As to the material weapons, he went forward holding big stones in the hands (asânô zasta drazimnô katô-masanghô). His spiritual weapons were the sacred formulæ of the Ahunava which he recited and the liturgical services which he performed with the liturgical utensils of the havanim, tashta, &c. In the end, when Ahriman and his associates found themselves unsuccessful in tempting Zarathushtra, they gave expression to their disappointment by saying (S. 46).

-பியடு த்ரக்குற்ற உர்பாகும் திக்க கி தின் தி ுள்ளின் தின்று மன்றல் மன்னைவர்விற்ற முன்

Translation-Alas! Holy Zarathushtra is born in the house of Pourushaspa! How are we to obtain his death?

^{ા &}quot;એક ટુંકું જરઘારત નામું". ખરસેદજી રૂરતમજી કામાનું જર્ઘારત નામું,બીજી આવૃત્તિ, 41. 24.

² S. B. E., Vol. IV, let ed., p. 203. 3 "Ce Farpard est devenue célèbre sous le titre de "Récit de la Tentation de Zoroastre Le véritable titresserait Lutte et Révélation : lutte de Ahriman contre Zoroastre qu'il cesaye d'abord de touer, puis de réduire : révélation de la loi d'Ormazd à Zoroastre" (Zend Avesta Vol.Hà p. 256.)

⁴ The Pahlavi rendering runs: "Aigh Zarhûnt ahlôban zarthusht dayan man-i Pourushaspa". Spiegel's Vendidad p. 220. Dastur Dorabji's Pahl, Vend. p. 211. Dantur Hoshang's Vendidad, p 613. Dastur Jamaepir's Text in Gujarati p. 136.

These two Avesta references directly point to the house of Pôurushaspa as the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Pôurushaspa was the father of Zoroaster. So one may very rightly think: "Why was there the neces-Special Why a sity of saying, that Zoroaster was born in of Famontion the house of his father? All children are ther's House? born in the houses of their fathers." answer to this question may be, that the phraseology is an ordinary one, meant simply to indicate family. But, a particular significance seems to have been meant. In the East, all children are not born in the houses of their fathers. Many of them. especially the first-born, are born in the houses of their mothers. Even now, that is the custom among Parsees in India. In the case of the first child, the mother generally goes to the house of her parents for delivery. So, perhaps, the special mention of the house of Pôurushaspa was intended to signify, if the above was also the custom in olden times, that Zoroaster was born, not in the house of his mother as usual, but in the house of his father. He was the eldest son of his father. This is evident from the fact of his conversation with Haoma. Before his birth, Pôurushaspa had no children. He performed the ritual of Haoma and drank Haoma-juice and Zoroaster's birth was the result. So, as the eldest son, one may expect, if the above Parsee custom was an old Iranian custom, that Zoroaster should have been born in the house of his mother. But, we learn from the later Pahlavi books, that Dogdho, the mother of Zoroaster was much harassed even in her pregnancy, by the evil-minded people of her country. So, we may take it that this may be the reason why she delivered at the house of her husband and not at that of her parents.

There is also a third reference, which, though it does not speak of the birth of Zoroaster in Pôurushaspa's house, speaks of the house where Zoroaster lived as a grown up man. It is that of the Vendîdâd (Chap. XIX, 4) where Zoroaster is spoken of as finding his weapons to oppose Ahriman in the house of Pôurushaspa. We read the following question and reply:

¹ The prevalent Parsee custom is, that not only does the mother, in the case of the first-born, give delivery in the house of the parents, but, it is expected that the parents of the mother are also to provide the whole or a part of the dowry of her first-born daughter.

i.e., Where did you get hold of these (weapons)?.....In the house of Pôurushaspa.

V.

(B) THE HOUSE OF PÔURUSHASPA. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? ON THE BANKS OF THE DARÊJA.

The above two references directly point to the house of Pôurushaspa as the birth-place of Zoroaster. The third reference indirectly points to it as his home. But they do not say where the house of Pôurushaspa was situated. So, we will now examine this question. We will examine the question, (1) at first, on the authority of the Avesta, and (2) then, on that of the Pahlavi books.

(1) THE SITUATION OF THE HOUSE OF PÔURUSHASPA, ACCORDING TO THE AVESTA.

We do not find in the Avesta any direct reference to the situation of the house. But, we find two indirect references, which lead us to say, where, most probably, that house was. With the help of the direct statements of later Pahlavi writings, these Avestaic references, though indirect, are of great importance. Both these references occur in the above-said Avestaic Zarthushtnameh (Vendîdâd Chap. XIX, 4 and 11). The first of these two (s. 4) localizes the house of Pôurushaspa, and the second localizes the place of his converse or consultation with Ahura Mazda and the Ameshâspentas. The place named in both these passages is the same, and the place of a Prophet's meditation and converse with the Higher Powers is generally expected to be near his home.

(a) The first reference, to which we have passingly referred above, is in reply to a question, arising from the temptation and opposition of the Evil powers. When they find Zoroaster opposing them, both with material and mental or spiritual weapons, they inquire about the weapons. In reply to the question, whence the above weapons were procured, we read (Vend. XIX, 4).

been work of monder women 1395 and the langulacement ברחנות בל הרושל בל הרושה (מרניה). en (3 Accar Bacde-Talana bantanak Bet/ Bracan-. જ

Translation.—Where, in this world, which is wide, round, far-extended, did you catch hold of these (weapons)?

(Reply) In the house of Pôurushaspa on the hill (or rising ground) above Darêja.

This reply points to the situation of Pourushaspa's house (where Zoroaster was born), as being on the banks of a river named Darêja and on a rising ground of that river.

(b) The second reference is in an account of Zoroaster's consultation with Ahura Mazda and his Ameshâspands. When Ahriman offered him the temptation of temporal sovereignty, Zarathushtra declined it. Then Zarathushtra had a spiritual Zarathushtra decimed it. Then Zarathushtra had a spiritual spentas, Vohumano, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra-Vairya and himself from the evils of âhriman. Ahnra Mazda renlied, that himself from the evils of Ahriman. Ahura Mazda replied, that he could do so by prayers and by observing righteousness, mand Matura round about harmony, order &c., as seen in the grand Nature round about. We read the following about the place of the converse or consultation with Ahura Mazda (Vend. XIX, 11.)

..... ektelne etjenn Zjensenjne knotsen وسرع مودس هدوماد سراس مواوم سم درسد عدروس واسدس سردوه Find to the mater of month of march of march of many fine of march of march of march of the marc Face constitution mesons of the same

The preceding passage pointed to the place where Zoroaster got the material and spiritual weapons to oppose Ahriman. This passage points to the place, where he had a consultation with Ahuramazda and the Ameshâspands, so as to be better prepared to oppose Ahriman. The place is named as Darêjyapaitizbarahê i.e., the hill or the rising ground of (the river) Darêja. Thus, these two passages help us, to some extent, in determining, where the house of Pôurushaspa was situated.

I have given above, my translations of these passages; but,

Variation in before proceeding, I must say here, that these two passages are differently translated by various translators.

- (a) Anquetil Du Perron takes both the words to be common nouns. His translation is too free. He translates the sentence of the first passage thus: "Après avoir passé (comme) un pont qui s'étend au loin, il alla dans le lieu fort." Here, he translates the word "Darêja" as "au loin (i.e., far off) taking it to be the same as Pers. darâz (دراز). He translates 'zbara' as "lieu fort" (i.e., strong place) and he seems to take the word to be Arabic jabr (جبر) strong.
- (b) Spiegel and Haug also take the words to be common nouns. Spiegel⁴ translates them as "in great strength."
- (c) Haug⁵ translates them as "incline to support (Pôurushaspa's house)."

Harlez and Darmesteter, Jackson, Justi and Windischmann have taken Dareja as a proper noun as the name of a river, and zbar as common noun.

¹ honghânê. âh, âs (आस) to sit.

² Vohu-maidhe from mad to be wise; madha, wisdom.

⁸ Zend Avesta, Tome I, second partie, p. 413.

⁴ Bleek's translation Vol. I, Vendîdâd, p. 137. Spiegel says in a footnote p. 143 n. 3; "This verse is by no means clear."

t Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. of 1878, p. 253. Haug seems to derive the word Daroja from dar (়) Sans, ধ্ৰা, Guj. ধ্ৰণু to hold fast,

to support, and the word zbar from zbar () Sans, हवर to be crooked. Both are far-fetched meanings,

- (d) Harlez translates: "Près du Dareja, au bord élevé." i.c., near Darêja on elevated bank.
- (c) Darmesteter translates as "sur la haute rive de la Dareja" i.e., "over the high bank of the Darêja." In his English translation, he translates as "by the river Darêja, upon the mountains.
- (f) Jackson translates in one place, as "by the Darej, upon its high bank" and in another, as "on the high bank of the Darej." 5
- (g) Justi also takes Darêja to be a proper noun and zbar (zbarangh) to be a common noun. He translates the sentence thus: "An dem (Fluss) Dareja (gelegnen) Berge, in der Wohnung des Pourushaçpa." i.e., on the (River) Darêja (situated in) the mountain in the house of Pôrûshaspa.
- (h) Windischmann translates "Darejya paiti zbarahi" as "am Hügel der Darega" i.e., "on the hillock of Darêja." In another place, he translates these words as "Krümmung der Darégya" si.e., "the crookedness or curve of the Darêja."
- (i) Ervad Framji Aspandiarji Rabadina has taken both the words to be common nouns. In his translation, he has followed much the Pahlavi. So, his translation is not so clear as to enable us to say what he understood by these two words but it is clear that he took both the words to be common nouns. He translates the whole sentence thus: "તે હથયાર તાગરેહનું રાખતા મ્મે જમીન ઉપર દરૂજને મારવાનું તેના સર ઉપર, કે જે પાહલું મને ગાલ મને દુર માર્ગનું (યાને જયાં દુર દરાજ સુધી દરૂજો હાય ત્યા સુધી તેવાનાં સર તુંટ મોર્ગનું અંજમતી મીનાઇ હથયાર) પોરાસસપનાં ઘરમાં હતું (તે હથયાર પાતાના હાથમાં રાખ્યું). It seems that he has

¹ Avesta, Vendîdâd, p. 192.

² Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 260.

³ S. B. E. Vol. IV, 1st ed. p. 205.

⁴ Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 194.

⁵ Ibid, 1, 19

⁶ Handbuch der Zendsprache (1864) p. 177. Vide the word 'Paitizbarauh.'

^{7 &}quot;Zoroastrische Studien" (1863) p. 48.

⁸ Ibid, p. 54, l. 32.

વંદોદાદ, તેના વાંચણ સાયના ગુજરાતી તરનુમાં, છપાવી પ્રગઢ કરનાર, ઐરવદ જમરોદજ ક્રામજી રબાડીના. ઇ. સ. ૧૯૦૦ પા. ૨૬૯-૨૭૦.

taken the word Dareja to be something like a word derived from dar وسل Sans. घर, Guj. धर्यु and the word zbar, to be Pers. jabr (न्म्लभती) strong and hence ejmati (न्म्लभती) i.e., wonderful.

- (j) K. R. Cama has translated the passage thus: "પાર્શસ્પના ઘેરમાં કે જે જખર (નામના પાહાડમાંથી) દરેજય (નામની નદી વેહે છે તેને) બુનારે છે.". ¹ Here he takes both the words to be proper nouns.
- (k) K. E. Kanga translates the sentence thus: "જબાર પાહાડની પડારામાં (આવેલી) દરેજ (નામની નદી) ની નજદીક પેરિશસ્પના ઘેરમાં (તે હથિયારા મળ્યાં હતાં"). Thus, he also takes both the words to be proper nouns. He emphasises his meaning in a foot note by saying:

"આવ્યે ચાયા કુકરાના છેલ્લા ભાગ ઉપરથી આપણને પેગંખર જરતાશ્તના ખાપ પારારાસ્પના ઘરની ઈધાંની મળે છે, તે વ્યક્તિ, તેનું ઘર જખાર નામના પાહાડમાંથી વેહેતી દરેજ નામની નદીના કીનારા ઉપર આવેલું હતું." Then, he proceeds to say where the river Darêja was, as stated in the Bundehesh, but says nothing about, what he calls, the mountain Zabâr.

(1) The Pahlavi translator has translated the first of these two passages thus $:^3$

¹ પેગામબર અશા જરથારતના જનમારાના એહવાલ (અવસ્તા ઉપરથી). એરવદ તેહુસુરસ દી. અંકલેશરીઆવાળી બીજી આવૃત્તિ, સન ૧૮૯૦, પા. ૩૫.

ર વંદીદાદ, ત્રીજી સ્પાવૃત્તિ (૧૮૯૪) પા. ૩૦૩.

³ Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana's Vendîdâd, p.198, l. 9. Vide Spiegel's Pahlavi Vendîdâd p. 211, 1.7 et seq. Spiegel's text omits the word zamik (earth) by some mistake. Vide Pahlavi Vendîdâd (પહેલવી વેદીદાદ)) in Gujarâti characters by Dastur Jamaspij Minocherji Jamaspasana (1908) Toxt p. 130, l.17, Translation p. 165. Vide Dastur Hoshangji's Vendîdâd, p. 610 ll 7 et seq.

Translation: - Which (i.e., the stones referred to in the preceding passage) he got from Dadar Oharmazd. He had got that from this earth which is wide, round and far extensive for passage, in the house of Pôrûshasp near Darzî Zabâr.

Haug has thus translated this passage of the Pahlavi Translation: "Who thus be sought the creator Auharmazd: Where is that kept on this wide, round, far-traversed (earth, which) is to be fixed on the roof in the dwelling of Pôrûshashp."1 Here, Haug adds in a foot-note: "The words darjik zbar, being merely a transcription of the Avesta, are translated in accordance with the meaning adopted in p. 333, note 4." This is a reference to his translation of the corresponding Avesta passage referred to above by me.

Dastur Jamaspji has translated this Pahlavi passage thus:

" જે દાદાર હેારમજદથી મેલવી હતી. કયાંથી તેને લીધી હતી, કે જે આર્મ્ય જમીન, જે પાહાલી, ગાળ અને પાર નહી થઇ શકે એવી છે તેની ઉપર "દરજી જખાર" ની નજદીક આવેલા પારુશસ્પના ઘર મધેથી." (p. 165)

We thus see, that the Pahlavi translator has not translated the two Avesta words, Dareja and Zbar, but have simply repeated these names. So, he does not help us in any way.

The Pahlavi rendering of the second passage of the Vendîdâd (XIX, 11) runs thus 2.

اواد أدلول كرسك سه مسكند ا رسي مدود ا कित्या ता कित्या कित्या कित्या कित्या कित्या कित्रका () कित्रका कित्रका कित्रका कित्रका कित्रका कित्रका कित्रका कि रिम्पारी हि विक्री धारमधाराजा । अभाषा । व्यविक्र

¹ Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. of 1878, p. 380.

² Dastur Darab's Text of the Vendîdâd, p. 200. This edition has, preceding the above quotation, the usual Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta "peresat Zarathushtrô" &c. Perhaps, the editor seems to have added this from himself to fill up the gap. Spiegel (Vendidâd Pahlavi p. 213, 1.4). Dastur Jamaspji (vêad dâtte Pahlavi Vendidâd in Gujarâti characters, p. 131) and Haug (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 382) have not this portion. Dastur Hoshangji's edition (p. 616, 1.3) also gives this addition. Haug adds in a note (n. 3): "The Pahlavi translator omits the usual opening invocation of the Creator." Again, Dastur Darab's Text repeats the word "shapîr," We do not find in any other edition, this repetition. any other edition, this repetition.

Translation—On Darji-zbar, where sat 1 Oharmazd and the good Vohuman, according to their grades. The grade consisted of this that next to Vohuman were Asha Vahishta and Shatrivar and Spendomad.

Dastur Jamaspji translates this passage thus (p. 167).

"'જખર' પાહાડની આગલ 'દરજી' નામની નદીની નજદીક હોરમજદ્ અને ભલા ભેહેમન આંદાજાસર ઉભેલા હતા. [આંદાજો તે જે કે ભેહેમન (હેારમજદની) પછવાડે હતા.] અરદી ભેહેરાત, રોહરેવર અને સપ'દારમદ (જે એના ખી ઉભેલા હતા).

Haug renders the passage thus (p. 382): "Through what is tobe fixed on the roof where Aûharmazd (and) the good one [Vohuman] of good estimation are stationed (âhist), [this 'estimation' (stands) for Vohuman again] (with) Ashavahisht, Shatvér, (and) Spendarmad." ²

Thus, we find from the Pahlavi rendering of this passage also that the translator has simply repeated the words Dareja and Zbara.

From the above passages of the Avesta Vendidad and their Pahlavi renderings, we see, that there Zbara not a prosis a, variety of opinions about the two words—Dareja and zbara—as to whether they are proper nouns or common nouns. I agree with those scholars who take Dareja to be a proper noun and zbara to be a common noun. My principal reason for doing so is this: In the case of the word Dareja, we are in a position to identify it on the authority of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, and to say, that it is the name of a river, but we are not in a similar position in the case of the word 'zbara,' if we take it to be a proper noun.

(a) If zbara were a proper noun, we would find its name in the list of mountains mentioned in the Zamyâd Yasht. But

^{1 &}quot;Nashist" seems to be a correction by Dastur Darab (op. cit. p. 200). The word, as given by Spiegel (op. cit. p. 213), Jamaspji (p. 131), and Haug (p. 382), is עם ביש â-hist in the sense of standing. Of course, the original Avesta has âonghânô in the sense of 'sitting.' Vide above, my translation of the Avesta passag.

² I think that Haug seems to have missed the point which the Pahlavi translator meant to convey, viz. that the Ameshaspands stood in the order of precedence according to their rank.

we do not find it there. The very fact of its name being associated with Zoroaster should have given it importance and a place in the list of Zamyad Yasht (Yt. XIX).

(b) Again we have a long list of mountains in the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XII). There also, we do not find the name as that of a mountain.

The word forms a compound with paiti, as paiti-zbara ¹ and is in the locative case with the name Dareja. So, it may form, as it were, an adjective of Dareja meaning something like the hilly Dareja. In that case, our translation may undergo a little change. But, under any circumstance, it is not a proper noun.

I think, that the word zbara is used in the sense of a mountain. As said above, Harlez and Darmesteter take the word in the sense of a mountain. The word seems to correspond with Pers. jabl. (جبل), pl. jabâl. It is significant, that according to Steingass, Media (Persian Irâk) the country of Zoroaster is spoken of as 'bilâdu'l-jabal." i.e. the country of mountains. We will see later on, in Sec. XI that the Arab writer Sharastani also associates Zoroaster with a mountain in Âzarbaijân (جبل سے جبل آذر بیتای). Cureton's Ed. of Sharastani p. 185. Haarbrücher's Translation p. 281.

Thus then, what we see from the Avesta is, that Zoroaster was born in the house of Pôurûshaspa and that the house of Pôurûshaspa was situated on a hill or rising ground on the river Darêja. Before proceeding to determine the place of the river, we will examine a few passages from the Pahlavi Bundehesh, which also speak of the house of Pôurûshaspa as the place where Zoroaster was born, and which also say that the house was on the river Darêja.

(2) THE SITUATION OF THE HOUSE OF ZOROASTER, ACCORDING TO THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

Among the Pahlavi books, the one which refers directly to the 1 The Pahlavi birth-place of Zoroaster is the Bundehesh. In it, we find two references to the birth-place:

(A) The Bundehesh has a special chapter on the subject of rivers under the title of "Chegunih-i rudhâ" i.e. "The Nature of Rivers" (Chap. XX). There, in a long list of rivers, we read

¹ Cf. Paiti-ayangha, paiti-dâna.

² Persian Dictionary, p. 355.

he name of a river as Dâraja (-wew). As the name is

written in Avesta characters there is no doubt about its reading. This Pahlavi Dâraja is the Avesta Darêja. After first naming the rivers, the writer proceeds to give a brief description of them. There we read the following about Dâraja:

مراعاد على الما الما الما المال المال المال المال المال المالم و المال المال

Translation.—Dâraja river (is) in Airan-vej, on the bank² of which was the house of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zar thusht.³

This Pahlavi passage is variously translated:

- (a) Anquetil has translated it thus: "Le Dâredjé (est dans) l'Iran-vedj, où Poroschasp, pere de Zoroastre, a porté (a engandré) ce (Legislateur). (Zend Avesta Tome, II p. 393.)
 - (b) Justi thus translates it (Der Bundehesh, p. 29): "Der Fluss Daraja in Airyanem vaejo (ist es) an welchem das Haus des Pourushaçpa, des Vaters Zarathustra's, auf einer Anhöhe lag," i.e., The river Daraja in Airyana Vaeja is that on which the house of Pôrûshaspa, the father of Zarathushtra, was aituated on a rising ground (or hill).

¹ Justi p. 53, ll. 5-7. West S. B. E. Vol. V, Chap. XX 32. Vide my Gujarâti Transliteration and Translation of the Bundehesh, p. 96. Windischmann's Zoroastrische Studien, p. 8, s. 24. Westergaard p. 53, l. 5. M. R. Unwala's Lithographed Ed. of Westergaard's text, p. 62, 1.2. Grand Bundehesh, edited by Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 89, ll.2-3.

² P. بار bâr may also mean branch (Steingass).

³ The Pazend Bundehesh gives the version as follows: (E. K. Antia's Pazend texts, p. 11, l. 2, Chapter, IV.)

Justi in the Wörterbuch attached to his Bundehesh (p. 86) connects the word الله with P. يالاى. In another passage of the Bundehesh (Chap. XXIV, Justi, p. 58), we have

- (c) West translates it thus: "The Dâraja river is in Aîrânvêj, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratusht." 1
- (d) Jackson translates it similarly "The Dâraja river is in Aîrân Vêj, on whose bank (bâr) was the abode of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûsht.²
 - (c) K. R. Cama, quoting this passage, translates it thus:
 - "એ (દારજ) નામની નદી ઇરાન વેજમાં વેહે છે....તેના મથાલાં આગલ જરથાસ્તના ખાપ પારૂરાસ્પનું ઘેર છે." ³(3) Here he takes the word 'bâr' for "માથાલાં" *i.e.* high place or bank.
 - (f) In my Gujarâti translation of the Bundehesh, I have translated it thus:

" દારજ રૂદ ઇરાન વેજમાં છે, જેના કિનારા ઉપર જરથાશ્તના ખાપ પારૂરાસ્પનું ધેર હતું." ⁴. i.e. The Dâraj river is in Irân-vêjt on the banks of which was the house of Pôrûshaspa.

We find the word bâr (daryâ bar) in the sense of shore or bank in Minokherad (Chap. LXII, 33). Its Sanskrit version gives the word as $\frac{1}{2}$ i.e., the seashore. It is significant, that like the Iranian word bar, its Sanskrit equivalen, tat also is used for both (a) "a slope, declivity, precipice;" and (b) "the shore or bank" (Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dictionary of 1890, p. 525).

¹ S. B. E., Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 82.

² Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 193.

³ Gujarâti Zarthusht nameh, 2nd ed., p. 37, ll. 1-3.

⁴ Vide my Transliteration and Translation in Gujārati of the Bundehesh, p. 97.

⁵ T. D. Anklesaria's Edition, p. 167, 1.2, Purshishna LXI, 33.

Windischmann thus translates the passage: Der Dâraga ist in Airanvie; auf seiner Höhe ist die Wohnung des Pursagp des Vaters Zartust's. (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 98)., i.e., The Daraja is in Airânvêj; on its height is the residence of Pursagp, the father of Zartûsht.

This passage of the Bundehesh is very important. It is, as it were, a kind of paraphrase of the Avesta passage of the Vendîdâd. I have dwelt on it at some length, giving various translations, with a view to show that, notwithstanding some variations in its translation, it also helps us to see that, as said in the preceding section, the word zbara in the Avesta passage is not a proper noun. It is replaced here by the word bâr.

(B) The second reference to the river in the Bundehesh is in the chapter (Ch. XXIV, 15) which treats of the Chieftainship (radih) of men, animals and all other things. It is, as it were, a chapter on Vispa-rad, i.e., on what are considered to be the chiefs (rata or rad) of particular classes. For example, it says that the white kharbiz is the chief (or the best) of all the goats. The white-haired, strong-kneed and two-shouldered camel is the chief of all camels. Similarly, we read the following in the case of rivers.¹

Translation.—Dâraja river is the chief of all rivers, because it had on its height (i.e., on its bank) the house of the father of Zarthûsht. Zarathûsht was born there.

This passage of the Bundehesh also determines, that the river Dâraja (Dareja) was the river of the birth-place of Zoroaster-Though small, it was held in veneration on account of the fact of Zoroaster's birth on it and was therefore taken to be the 'chief' of rivers.

¹ Justi's Text, p. 58. ll. 5-7; West. S. B. E., Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 89. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. Anklesaria, p. 121, 1. 8. (Here, the word "rud" after Daraja is omitted and in place of the word bâlâ we have bâr). Windischmann, Zoroastrisché Studien, p. 103, s. 15. Westergaard's ed., p. 58, 1, 5, M. R. U vala's Ed., p. 69, 1, 6.

(C) We have a reference to the birth-place of Zoroaster in another chapter (XXXII, 2) of the Bundehesh. We read there:

other chapter (XXXII, z) or wing game, 136 mg and 21 seconds same as a second s

Translation.—From Pôrûshasp, Zartuhust was born on the $D_{
m arg\hat{a}}$ ($D_{
m arej\hat{a}}$) of the good religion.

My translation requires a few words for justification as it differs from previous translations.

Justi, who has in his translation numbered this chapter as XXXIII (p. 45, l. 6), translates this passage thus: "Von Pourushagpa Wurde Zarathustra auf seinem Stammsitz Hidainis erzeugt, v.e. From Pourushagpa was born Zarathushtra at his ancestral seat Hidainis. In his "Wörterbuch", (glossary), attached to his Rundsheeh for the word daron (le (glossary), 120) attached to his Bundehesh, for the word darga (\$100000000), p. 139), attached to his Bundehesh, for the word darga (الله p. 139), modern Persian dargah (الله p. 139), palace, gate, and gives the modern persian dargah (الله p. 139), as its equivalent. As to him him ha Hadinash (Chi Ar p. 269, glossary, as transliterated by him), he saws. "Nama dag Palastag dag Pommahaona," i o "the Name Hadinash (كَيْنِيْنَ P. 269, glossary, as transliterated by him), he of a palace des Palastes des Pourushaçpa," i.e., "the Name translation of Pourushaçpa." Under this word, he sentence as "Von Pourushaçpa wurde usaçpa, Zarathustra in Palast Hidainis erzeugt," i.e., From Pourushaçpa wurde hidainis. Usacpa, Zarathushtra was born in the palace of Hidainis. Thus, he takes Pôrûshaspa to be the possessor of a palace manad Hidaini which ha takes to be the possessor of a palace named Hidaini which he takes to be the place where Zoroaster

Windischmann translates thus: "Von Porusaço, wurde Zartust an dem Sitz des Dargaflusses erzeugt "(Zoroastrische Studien, p. 119), i.e., From Porusage was born Zartusht on a Seat of the river Darga. Windischmann thus speaks about the roads hidsinis. "Hidsinis iet wahreshainlish Word which he reads hidainis: "Hidainis ist wahrscheinlich ein Zendawort, was ich auf hidhaiti (Yasht Fr. II, 2): sitzene Zariinkfiihre. eg hedentet de her wohl einen Wohneite (Ihid v Zurückführe; es bedeutet daher wohl einen Wohnsitz (Ibid, p. 160), i.e., Hidainis is probably a Zend word which I derive

Anklesaria, p. 235, ll. 3-4. Westergaard's Ed., p. 79, l. 10. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. lithographed edition of Westergaard's Text, p. 92, l. 10. Windlschmann

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from (lit. take back to) hidhait, seat; hence it may well indicate 'residence.'

Dr. West translates it thus: "By Pôrûshasp was Zaratûsht begotten for a sanctuary of good religion." About the two words "dargâ hidainish", he says: "the Pâzand words dargâ hidainish appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. dargâsi Hûdînôîh". So, he has followed Justi and taken this word dargâ to be Pers. dargâh.

In the edition of Westergaard,² the text of this sentence is the same as that of Justi.

In the Grand Bundehesh, we find the sentence thus: (Ervad Tehmuras's ed., p. 235, 1.3):

So, we see that here, the two separate 31 ral and daragâ, have been joined together, and the next word is given as "andainish" The last letter **v** h at the end of the word vataragâh, seems to help Justi and West, who have taken the word to be the same as dargâh.

The Pazend Bundehesh 3 gives the sentence as follows:

Here, the two Pahlavi words "val Daraga" are combined into one as Nodargâ, and the next word read as Haidansh.

¹ S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), p. 141.

² Westergaard's Ed., p. 79, l. 9; M. R. Unwala's lithographed edition of Westergaard's Text, p. 92, l. 10, has miswritten the word as Hadainish.

³ Edalji K. Antia's Ed., Chap. XXV, p. 57, 1. 5.

The Persian Rivayet of Darab Hormuzyâr, while giving the genealogy (kursi) of Zoroaster, gives this passage as follows in Avesta characters.¹

It is difficult to know how the writer has understood the words no dargah-i-daenish.

I think, that the word, given as darga we by Justi and Westergaard, as (va)dargah www by the Grand Bundehesh, and (nô) darga word by the Pazend Bundehesh, is a corrupted form of the word dareja written in the previous part of the Bundehesh as word. The Grand Bundehesh and the Pazend Bundehesh have joined the preceding particle val by with it. Windischmann seems to have taken the word correctly.

As to the second word, hidainish, as given by Justi, it seems to be hudaêna wife i.e., of good religion. It is applied as an epithet to the river Dareja, perhaps, because Zoroaster, the promulgator of the good religion was born on its banks.

Thus, we see that this passage of the Bundehesh also refers to the Dareja river as the place of the house of the birth of Zoroaster.

· In my Gujarâti Transliteration and Translation of the Bundehesh (p. 176), published in 1901, I have referred in a

¹ Dorab Hormuzyâr's Rivayet by Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala, with my Introduction, vol. II, p. 44, ll. 4-5.

footnote to this point. I said (I translate from my Gujarâti): "I think this to be a corrupted form of the Daraja (of Chap. XX), on the shore of which Zoroaster was born. In another footnote I have suggested that the word hudanish, written with different variations, may be a corrupted form of Airan-Vej

(פונ⁽שוש) which word occurs with Dareja in Chap. XX.

Pôrûshasp's father's house referred to in the Dinkard. In the Dînkard (Bk. VII), we find a reference to the house of Paitiraspa, the father of Pôrûshasp. We read there: 1

त्ता विक्रमा विकार्तविकाः स्वक्रमोम द्रवेग ए देने त्यार द्विस्कार विश्वका विवाद पुर स्वक्रमोग्वार विवादिकुम्पस्का त्यार विकार ए देव द्वियन्दर न्यातिह क्रि विभाविष विभाविष विकास विवाद विवादिका प्रवादिक क्षेत्र क्षेत्र ए तिरोप विद्यालिका विवाद । विवाद

Translation.—Then on account of (the fact) that they were not happy (khursand lâ yehvûnt) owing to the troubles (sârinashn²) from the demons and from the Kavis and the Karaps of the district (matâ), the father ordered the girl to go (satuntan) to Patiritasp, the father of the family,³ who (was) in the town of the Spitamas which was a village on (the river) Arak; and the girl accepted the order of (her) father.

Thus what we gather from the Avesta and Pahlavi passages examined in this section is this:—The House of Põurûshaspa, where Zoroaster was born, was situated on some high ground on the banks of a river, named Darêja.

Dastur Darab's Ed., vol. XIII, p. 23, l. 4 of the Text of Book VII,
 p. 21 of Translation, Chap. I, 9. West, S. B. E., vol. XLVII, pp. 19-20,
 Chap. II, 9. D. M. Madon's Ed., vol. II, p. 602, ll. 13-16.

² Pers. witrouble, affliction.

³ P. 853 family, tribe, people.

VI.

(C) RIVER DAREJA. WHERE DID IT FLOW? IT WAS AN AFFLUENT OF THE DAITI.

Now, having determined, both from the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, that Zoroaster was born in the house of his father Pôrûshaspa on the bank of the river Darêja, we will proceed to determine where Darêja was situated. The Pahlavi books help us to determine its situation.

The Bundehesh (Chap. XX, 32) says of the Darêja, that it was situated in Aîrân-Vêj. The very passage 1. The Bundehesh quoted in the preceding section (p.22) says so. There, we read, "Dâraja rûd pavan Aîrân-Vej", i.e., "The river Dâraja is (situated) in Airân-Vêj". I have examined the passage at some length, while speaking of the house of Pôrûshaspa; so I will say nothing further about it here.

The Pahlavi Zâdsparam also helps us in determining the situation of the river Darêja. It says that 2. The Zâdsparam. Darêja was a branch of a larger river, the Dâitî. In this book, we have a chapter on the seven questionings (haft prashnôih) or conferences which Zoroaster had with the seven Ameshâspentas, as referred to in the Dînkard. There, in the narration of the seventh meeting with the seventh Ameshâspand Amardâd, we read 2:

اسر ۱۹۱۱ اسر جهد د هدهما ۱ مها ۱ مها ۱۹۵۰ دوم درگاه درگاه اس او شاونده به ماها و ۱۱۱ دوم سامله ۱۹۸۱ د شارگاه ۱۱۵۱۱ رسه باماد د سامها

Translation.—For the holding of the seventh inquiry in relation to Amerdâd, the Spirit of the trees (i.e., the Vegetable

Dînkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 5, 6, 7; S. B. E., vol. XXXVII, p. 32; Chap. XIII of Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Dinkard, vol. XV, p. 32; D. M. Madon's Ed., vol II, p. 691.

² Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Text, p. 88, Chap. XXIII, 7; West's Chap. XXII, 12 (S. B. E., vol. XLVII, p.162).

creation) accompanied Zartusht to a conference ¹, on Darêja's rising ground (Darajin zbar) on a branch (bâr) of the water of the Dâiti and other places.²

This passage is important, as it points to some connection of the river Darêja with another river, Dâitik, with which the name of Zoroaster is associated. We will see, later on, that the river Dâitî was in Airân-Vêj. So, the river Darêja, which is a branch of it, and on which stood the house of Pôrûshaspa, where Zoroaster was born, was also in Airân-Vêj.

Thus, these two Pahlavi books, the Bundehesh and the Zâdsparam, say, that the river Darêja was in Airân-Vêj. The Bundehesh directly says so. The Zâdsparam indirectly says so. But the indirect reference of the Zadsparam is important in one other matter, viz., that it points to the Darêja being a tributary or affluent of the Dâitî.

VII

(D) THE RIVER DÂITÎ. WHERE DID IT FLOW? IN AIRÂN-VÊJ.

We saw above, in the preceding section, that the river Darêja is spoken of as connected with a larger river Dâitî. So, we will now examine briefly, what is said about this river Dâitî in Parsee books. We will see, what is said of it, first, in (A) the Avesta, and then, (B) in the Pahlavi books.

(A) RIVER DAITÍ IN THE AVESTA.

The river Dâitî is spoken of in the Avesta as Vanghu Dâitî, i.e. the good Dâitî. Similarly, in the Pahlavi, it is spoken of as Veh Dâitî or Shapîr Dâitî, "veh" being the Pahlavi Aryan rendering, and "Shapir" the semetic equivalent of Vanghu. We find the name in the following places in the Avesta:—

(a) Vendîdâd I, 3, where Airân-vêj is spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî

¹ Ham-pûsagih for Hampûrsagih as given in a footnote of the Text.

West (S. B. E., XLVII, p. 162, Chap. XXII, 12) translates: "For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amurdad's, the spirits of plants have come out with Zaratusht to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank (bar) of the water of Daitih, and different places."

क्षार क्षा के कियों के किया किया है कि

- (b) Vend. II, 21, where both, Ahura Mazda and Yima Khshaeta (Jamshed), are spoken of as known in the Airân-Vêj of the good Dâitî (Srûtô Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyûo Dâityayâo).
- (c) Vend. XIX, 2, where Zarathushtra is represented as doing homage to the good waters of the good Dâitî (âpô vanghuhîsh frâyazaêta vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).
- (d) Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 21), where the worshipper pays his homage, among others, to the Kayânian glory, to the country of Aeryana Vaêja and to the waters of the Dâitî (nemem kavaêm kharenô, nemô Airyênê Vaêjahi nemô aipi Dâityayâo).
- (c) Åbân Yasht (Yt. V, 17), where Ahura Mazda is represented as paying homage to Ardviçura in the Airyana Vaēja of the good Dâitì. (Tâm yazata yô dadhvâo Ahurô Mazdao Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).
- (f) Âbûn Yasht (Yt. V, 104), where Zarathushtra pays a similar homage to Ardviçura in the Airân Vej of the good Dâitî.
- (g) Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 112), where Zarir is represented as paying homage to Ardvigura on the other side of the good Dâiti (pasnê âpô Dâityayâo).
- (h) Gosh Yasht (Yt. IX, 29), where king Vîshtâsp is represented as paying homage to Dravâsp on the other side of the good Dâiti (pasnê âpô Dâityayâo.)
- (i) Ram Yasht (Yt. XV, 2), where Ahura Mazda is represented as paying homage to Râm Khâstra in the country of Airyana Vaêja of the good Dâiti (Airyênê Vaêjahi Vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

We find from these Avesta passages that, wherever Airyana Vaêja is mentioned as the place of worship, there, the name of the river Dâitî is also mentioned. Airyana Vaêja is spoken of as the country of the good river Dâitî.

(B) DAITI IN PAHLAVI BOOKS.

In the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, the name of the river Dâiti occurs

1. The Vendîdâd. three times.

(a) We read of Airân-Vej, in the very first chapter of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, as being the very first of the countries mentioned there and as the country of the good Dâitī. (Shapir Dâitī. Pahl. Vend. I, 3). The passage speaks of this Dâitī as a river. We read: 1

Translation.—It (is called) good Dâitî, because the river Dâitî flows in that place (and) they do tillage (there) by avaêpaêm.² There are some who say thus: that (water) comes by avaêpaêm and they do cultivation (kâr) in that place.

Dastur Hoshangji's Vendîdâd p. 4, l. 6 f; Dastur Darab's Text, p. 2,
 1. 12 ff. Spiegel, p. 2, l. 12. Nowroji Manockji Kanga's Pahlavi Vendîdâd (1900), p. 12. Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarâti Pahlavi Vendîdâd, p. 1.

Dastur Hoshang thinks that, perhaps, it may be for fightham.

He puts a mark of interrogation to express his doubt. He then adds:—
It is "traditionally explained as 'a subterranean canal of water' or 'a reservoir of water.' In this case its latter part must be either aepen, apen or apen. It is evident from the word being not written in Pahl. characters, that either there was no Pahl. equivalent of it or the translator did not know it. It seems to me that the word simply means 'a fall of water', 'a source of water' or a 'sangam' (HIH) i.e., confluence of two or more rivers, as is clear from the contents of the Pahl. Comm. to I, 3 (Vendidâd Glossarial Index, pp. 41-42)." I think that the traditional meaning of "a subterranean canal" or "a reservoir of water" is correct. The word may be derived from Av. ava (**11") below and ap (**2") water. Thus it means "subterranean water." Dastur Jamaspji translates thus:

Here, it is explained, that the river is spoken of as good, because it helps the cultivation of Airân-vêj.

(b) The next reference is in the second chapter (II, 21) where the famous (nâmik) Airân-Vej is twice spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî () () and is associated with king Jamshed and his colony (var). (Dastur Darabji's Pahl. Vend. p. 18 1. 13). King Jamshed had

there a converse with Ahura Mazda.

- (c) The third reference is in the 19th chapter of the Vendîdâd (XIX, 2), where also we read of Airân-Vêj, being the country of the river Dâitî. Here, it is associated with Zoroaster, who is spoken of as having paid homage to the good waters of the good Dâitî (avash maya¹-i shapir farâz yazbahunît mûn shapir Dâitî) and as declaring the Mazdayasnân religion.
 - 2. The Dinkard. There are several references to the river in the Dinkard.
- (a) Zoroaster in his 30th year, had a conference with Ahura Mazda through Vohumano on the banks of the river Dâitî. We read.² (Bk. VII).

We find from this Gujarâti translation of the Pahlavi rendering, that Dastur Jamaspji has given the 'word " '12'm' "fountain' for "avaêpaêm."

[&]quot; વેહેદાઇતીની મતલબ એકે 'દાએતો' નામની નદી ને ઇરાન વેજની જોાએ આવેલી છે કે નેષી તેઓ કારનન (નેહેર) ની મારકૃતે અથવા બેદેહેરાત પણાથી ખેતી કરેછે. વળી એમબી કહેવાયલું છે કે એ કારનન (નેહેર) થી (પાણી) આવેછે કે નેથી તે જોાએ ખેતી કરે છે." (Pahlavi Vendidåd in Gujaråti p. 2.)

¹ wf Dastur Darabji gives the word as wf which seems to be a mistake (Pahlavi Vendîdâd, p. 197).

² Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 63, Bk. VII, Chap. II, 51-52, West. S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 47, Chap. III, 51-52. D. M. Madon's Dinkârd, Vol. II, p. 624, l. 3, et seq.

³ I have taken this word as given in the foot-note 4 of p. 63 of Dastur Dorabji's Dinkard, Vol. XIII.

ساسد و ماد پادادی سه شما او حو د دی دور اس विश्वतात हैया हि दे त दे जतवत कान नाम ०१७७१ के ११७

Translation.—On the completion (bundagih) of thirty years from (his) birth, Vohumanô, the Ameshaspand, came for concord (âshtih) of (i.e., to meet) Ahura Mazda, when he (Zarathushtra) was drawing water for Hom-ritual (Homigan) from the singleflowing (aevatâk, i.e., the main) river as is mentioned in Religion thus: When he (Zarathushtra) arrived at the third affluent (tachashneh) upto that which is the good Daiti, he went forward.

- (b) We also find a reference to the river, in the next chapter (Bk. VIII, Chap. III, 29), as a river whence Zoroaster fetched water for the Haoma ceremony. Its water with the proper ritual is said to give healthfulness (Bishâzashnih min maya-i homigân Zarâthusht min rud-i Dâitî....)1
- (c) The next reference in the Dinkard (Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 60) points to the situation of the river Dâitî as being in Aîrânvêj. The 88th chapter of the 7th book speaks of the coming to an end of the millenium of Zoroaster on account of the apostle Aushidar. It is said that, at his age of thirty, the apostle will have some conference with the Higher powers and there is some hope of fresh life and prosperity "in Airân-vêj.

where the good Dâîtî is situated". مِس اوالها) (अलम् क्रिक्र

(d) The next reference is in Bk. VII, Chap. IX, 23. It is similar to the preceding, and points to Airân-vêj as the country in which the Dâitî runs (عرودل العنام عنوالله عنوالله العنوالله عنوالله العنوالله الع vêj âigh shapîr Dâitî).3

¹ Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 11, Bk. VII, Chap. III, 29. West, S. R. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. IV, 29, p. 57. D.M. Madon's Ed.,

Vol. II, p. 631, l. 10.

2 Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 83, Bk. VII, Chap. VII, 60. West, S. B. E., XLVII, p. 107, Chap. VIII, D. M. Madon's Ed., Vol. II, p. 668, l. 2.

3 Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 91, Chap. VIII, 23. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 112, Chap. IX, 23. D. M. Madon's Ed., II, p. 672

II, p 672, l, l.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ZOROASTER

There is another reference in the Dinkard which, I think, (e) Daiti. Its afflu. is important. The river Dâiti is differ. ent Arikhshan. 163 ently identified. Some identify We read thus in the Dinkard, about Zoroaster's conference Zarafshan and some with the Araxes. with the Higher Powers: 1. it with

سلم مد حوال مامع الم مامع الم مامه الح كور به فعل مه صور مل مل المرا د كو علم ما المار ا م کو کراهاسه سم به جمیما جمیه د ساعوسا

Translation.—When he (Zarathushtra) came to the fourth affluent (tashum tachashnih), up to the good Dâitî, Arikhshan river which was the name of it,—and Zartuhsht was drawing, from its midst, water for Haoma ritual.

Dastur Darabji says in the foot-note (Vol. XIII, Translation, Dâit. viê pipon in concentration, identified with Dastur Darabji says in the 1000-note (voi. All, Lianasa the mirror Amilhahan hara mentioned.) the river Araxes, the river Arikhshan here mentioned." The name can very easily be read Aushân. In that case can it be the Anshan referred to by Cyrus as his and his ancestor's place

There are three references to the Dâitî in the Bundehesh. heshTwo occur in the special chapter on the nature of the rivers (Chap. XX, 7, 13).

(a) The first reference (s. 7) simply includes it in the list of rivers. (b) The second reference (s. 1) sumply unclines in in the use of and ofwag some narrianlars We read (Chan VY 12). ated, and gives some particulars. We read (Chap. XX, 13):

¹ Dastur Darabji's Dinkard, Bk. VII, Vol. XIII, pp. 64, Chap. II, 54. 48, Bk, III, Chap. III, 54). D. M. Madon's Ed., Vol. II, 9, p. 624, 1. 19.

ाक असा सामाक मार केमलोट त्ये वाद म्दावास्त्र ति प्र त महत्त्वेम मिन प्रत्याक से मैंन्य म्दावास्त्र को प्र का का मार कार्याक में मह्द्रिया नाम कार्याक वा। ६१व

Translation.—The Dâiti river flows in Irân-vêj. (It) comes out from the mountain of Gurjastân. Of all rivers, the kharfastars (i. e. noxious creatures) (abound) in this the most, as, it is said that "Dâti is full of Kharfastars."

(c) Then in its chapter of chieftainship (radih) (Ch. XXIV, 14), the Bundehesh speaks of the Dâîtî as the chief of running waters. (Dâitî rud tachakân ³ rad). The Dareja, as seen above, owed its superiority or chieftainship to its being the river on which the house of Zoroaster was situated, but this Dâitik is taken to be superior among rivers for its swiftness of flow.

There are several references to the river in the Pahlavi Zâds-(4) Zâdsparam. param: (a) The first is in the chapter (Chapter II, 6) on the approach of Ahriman to (harm) the creation (madam dayan yâtûntan-i Āhriman val dâm).

¹ Justi's Bundehesh, p. 51, ll. 9 to 52, l.l. West, S. B. E., V, pp. 78-9, .Chap. XX, 13. Westergaard's Text, p. 51, l. 19. Lithographed edition of Unwala, p. 60, ll. 8-10. My Bundehesh, p. 94. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. Anklesaria, p. 87, ll. 7-9. Pazend Bundehesh by E. K. Antia, pp. 9-10, Chap. IV.

² Justi gives $\{e\}$. It seems that the original copyist may have written the word $\{e\}$ twice by mistake and this word was then mixed with the word min. Or, we may render the sentence, as given by Justi thus: The Dâitî river is that river (which) comes from Airân-vêz.

⁸ From Av. ৭৯৫ tach Sans. নহা Pers. نفت to flow.

Justi, p. 58, ll. 4-5. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 89. Westergaard's Ed., p. 58,l. 4. Ed. by Unwala, p. 68, l. 5. My Bundehesh, p. 110, l.4. Grand Bundehesh, p. 121, ll. 7-8. It adds the word 'avân' (waters) after the word tachakân'. Pazend Bundehesh (E. K. Antia's Pazend texts), p. 44, l. 4.

⁵ Vichîtakihâ-i Zâtsparam, by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 9. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 161, Chap. II, 6.

There, Ahriman is represented as coming to the bank of the river Dâitî (pavan bâr-i maya-i Dâitî) 1 165

(b) The next reference is in Chapter XXI (s. 5). We read:

में रिष्णा क्षा मुंगायक त्रिक्षा क्षेत्र कि الما سعاد ر مهم عمد ۱۱۹ سر الما دوربادامی

Translation.—Zaratuhsht went to the banks of the waters of Dâitî for pounding (hûnîtan râi) Hom, because, on account of the conference of Zaratuhsht on it. It (the Dâiti) is the chief of the waters of Awân. It has consisted of four channels (baêtâ, lit. houses).

This passage, like the passage of the Bundehesh above referred to, points to Dâiti as being the chief of rivers, on account of its shores being the seat of Zoroaster's performance of the of its shores being the sear of zoroaster's performance of the Haoma ritual and on account of Zoroaster holding there his the Vorden the Haoma ritual and on account of zoroaster notding there has plural of Yazd is used for God, so here out of respect the plural of âw). It is this word âwân, that has nassed corrent. plural of âw). It is this word, Awân, that has passed current among the Parsees as Awan Fazad (widi saxe) for the Lazata presiding over waters.

(c) We read further on in the same chapter in connection with Zoroaster's conference with the Ameshaspands :3

महमा एए हाल खे निर्देश ह אמשוו פוו ות ר שה ר הפטור

Chap. II, 6. 10, 1. 14, Chap. II, s. 9. West. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 162, S. Vichitakiha-i Zatsparam, by B. T. Anklesaria, pp. 78-79, Chap.

D. West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 155, Chap. XXI, 5. 3 Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Vichîtakihâ-i Zâdsparam, p. 81, 11. 1.2

Chap. XVI, 10. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. XVI, 13. 11. 1.2

Translation.—The place (gaç) of the meeting (anjuman) was in Irân and in the direction of the regions (matân) on the banks the waters of the Dâitî.

Here we see Dâitî associated with Airân.

(d) Then Dâitî is again referred to (Chapter XXIII of B. T. Anklesaria, chap. XXII, 12 of West) as the seat of the conference of Zaratuhsht with Ahura Mazda. We read: 1

Translation.—Zaratuhsht, the personage who was the supporter (bortâr) of Oharmazd, arrived for a conference on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî.

I translate the sentence as we find it in the only text available. But, I think, the words "bordar tan" found here are miswritten for "bordan râi" which we find in similar passages of other conferences.

(e) Then, in an account of the conference with the fifth Ameshâspand, Spendârmad, we read of Zoroaster meeting the Ameshâspand on a spring, flowing from the Asnavad mountain and meeting the Dâitî: 2

तामीह का नित्त का नित्त नित्त नित्त नित्त नित्त नित्त नित्त मान्त करकेता । द्वाका भा नित्ता भा नित्ता का नित्ता का नित्ता का का कारकाता का नित्ता नि

¹ Ibid, Vichîtakihâ, p 85, Chap..XXIII, 1. West, S. B. E., Ibid. p. 160, Chap. XXII, 2.

Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Ed. p. 87, l. 8, Chap. XXIII, 5. West,
 S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. XXII, 9.

Translation.—For the fifth questioning (or conference, parashna), which was with Spendomad, the spirits (mînô) of the regions and quarters and stations ¹ and towns ² (rutastâkân) and villages (matâân), as many as required, went with Zarthust to the consultation (ham-pûrsagìh) at the place.... where there is a spring (khâni), ³ which comes from the Asnavad ⁴ mountain and goes to the Dâitî.

This passage gives us some additional information. It says that there flowed into the Daitî, a stream which had its source in the Asnavad mountain, which, according to the Bundehesh (Chap. XII, 26), was in Azerbaijan, and which was the seat of the sacred fire of Azar Gushasp. (Chap. XVII, 7.)

(f) The next reference in the Zâdsparam (Chap. XXII s. 12) speaks of the seventh consultation of Zoroaster with Amerdád "on the river Darêja's high ground on the bank of the waters of the Dâitî".

The Dâdistân-i Dînî refers to this river. The 89th question in this book is about some immortals (ahosh).

(5) The Dâdis-Seven rulers of this class are named. Among these, one is Gopat-shâh, ruling over the land of Gopat, which land is spoken of as "having the same boundary (ham vimand) with Airân-vêj on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî (pavan bâr-i maya-i Dâitî)". This passage shows the connection of Airân-vêj with the river Dâitî.

¹ Av. اوستا station. و وستا Av. المعامدة علام village.

² Pers. خانی Av. مانی Sans. । و ا

³ Av. %#"" (Zamyûd Yasht.) Yt. XIX 5, Atash Nyâish, 5 Sirouzeh 9. Vide my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names.

⁴ B. T. Anklesaria's Ed. p 89. Chap. XXIII, 7. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 162, Chap. XXII, 12.

<sup>Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's Ms. Text, p. 380, ll. 5-6.
Tehmuras's Transliteration in Avesta characters, p. 276, l. 3. His
Guja Ati Translation with my Introduction, pp. 204-5. West, S. B. E. XVIII., p. 257, Chap. XC, 4.</sup>

i.e., the country of Gopat which has the same boundary (vimand) as that of Irânvêj on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî.

We gather the following from the above references to the Dâitî in the Avesta and Pahlavi books:

- (a) Airân-vêj is spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî.
- (b) The Dâitî is spoken of as "good", because it helps the tillage of this part of the country.
- (c) This part of Airân-vêj where the Dâitî flowed was the place, where Yima-khshaêta (Jamshed) had a conference with Ahura Mazda.
- (d) Zoroaster paid homage to the fertilizing waters of the Dâitî.
- (e) Airân-vêj, the River Dâitî and the Kayânian glory are associated together, i.e., the country of Airânvêj where good Dâitî flowed was a seat of the glorious kings of Airân.
- (f) Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra and other worthies of Iran, paid homage to Ardviçura in this Airân-vêj of the good Dâitî.
- (g) Zoroaster had conferences with Higher Powers in the country of this river.
- (h) One of the affluents of the river is Arikhshân or Aushân.
 - (i) The Dâiti river is in Airân-vêj.
- (j) It was a swift-flowing river.
- (k) A stream from the Asnavant Mountain flowed into it.

The principal fact, which we see in the midst of all the above references is this, that the river Dâitî, of which the river Darêja, on which Pôurûshasp's house stood, was a branch, was situated in the region of Airân-vêj. One of the passages

(passage (c) of the Zâdsparam) says further, that one of the affluents of the Dâitî flowed from the Asnavant mountain.

Having determined, that the river Dâitî, on a branch of which named Darĉja, there stood the house of Pôurûshaspa in which Zoroaster was born, was situated in Airân-vêj, we will proceed to determine, on the authority of the old Iranian books, the situation of the country of Airân-vêj.

VIII.

(E) AIRÂN-VÊJ. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? IN ÂTARPATAKÂN.

In this section, we will examine what is said of Airân-vêj (A) in the Avesta and (B) in the Pahlavi books, and determine where it was situated.

(A) AIRÂN-VÊJ IN THE AVESTA.

Airân-vêj is referred to in the Avesta 6 times.

- (a) We find a reference to it in the first chapter of the Vendidâd. It is one of the 16 best places created 1 The Vendîdâd. by Ahura Mazda. It stands there first in the list. Scholars have differed and still differ about the situation of this Airân-vêj. Some scholars have looked for this country to some place between the Oxus (Âmu Daryâ) and the Zaxartes (Sir-Daryâ) on the North-west of the modern Bulur Tâgh and a little north of the Pamirs. The Vendîdâd speaks of this country as one, where there prevails a long winter of ten months and a short summer of two months (Vend. I, 4). It is this reference to the climate that has led Bunsen and other scholars to look for it toward the Pamirs.¹ But it appears on other grounds that one need not go so far.
- (b) Then, we find a reference to it in the second chapter of the Vendîdâd, which is a kind of brief Jamshed-nâmeh, treating of one great work of king Jamshed, viz., the building of a vara, i.e. an enclosure or a colony, the area of which he increased three times, as the population in it increased from a small select number to a large number. Therein (Chap. II. 21), is an account of a converse, conference or consultation of Jamshed with Ahura Mazda;

¹ Vide my Essay in Gujarâti on the Geography of the Avesta (1887) (અવરતા જમાનાની ઘર સંસારી છંદગી, ભૂગાળ અને એક્સર નામું.) pp. 123-25.

and Airân-vêj of the good Dûitî river is the country of that conference. There, both Ahura Mazda and Jamshed (Yimakhshaêta) are spoken of as known and praised in Airyana Vaêja of the good (river) Dûitî.

We find this fact mentioned another time also in the same parain a little altered form.

(c) In the Vendîdâd (Chap. XIX 39), the country of Airyanavaêja seems to have been indirectly associated with king Jamshed. There, all the seven keshvars or regions (Haft-keshvar) are praised, and then the country of Airyana and king Jamshed are praised. We read:

Translation.—I praise the Glory of the countries of Airyana. I praise the Glory of Yima Khshaêta (Jamshed), the master of flocks.

This invocation of Airyana and Jamshed, one after another, in the same passage, points to some relations between them.

It seems that Airyana-vaôja was, as it were, the centre of the countries spoken of as Airyana. Airyana-vaôja is spoken of in the singular in the first and second chapters. Here in the 19th chapter, Airyana is spoken of in the plural as Airyanâm dakhyunâm. So Airyana-vaôja may be taken, as it were, as the cradle of the people of all countries known as Airyana or Iranian countries (airyanâm dakhyunâm).

- (d) We again find Airyana-Vaêja referred to in the Hormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 21) in association with the good Dâitî. There, homage is paid to both, the Airyana-vaêja and the Dâitî (Nemô Airyênê Vaêjahi,....nemô aipi Dâityayâo).
- (e) In the Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 17), Ahura Mazda is represented as giving offerings to Ardviçura Anâhita in the Airyanavaêja of the good Dâitî (Tâm Yazata yô dadhvâo Λhurô Mazdâo Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo):

- (f) In the same Yasht (s. 104), Zarathushtra also is represented as giving similar offerings in the Airyana-vaêja of the good Dâiti.
- (g) In the Râm Yasht (Yt. XV, 2), Ahura Mazda is represented as giving offerings to Râm Khâstar in the Airyana-vaêja of the good Dâiti.

We learn from all these passages of the Avesta, some of which we have also referred to above in the consideration of the situation of the Dâitî, that Airyana-vaêja is closely associated with the river Dâitî. It was the cradle of the old Mazdayaçnân religion, and later on, of the Zoroastrian Mazdayaçnân religion. Ahura Mazda, Jamshed and Zoroaster were associated with it. It was the first-founded country of the world, and had long winters. The countries known as Airyana or Iranian seem to have taken their origin from it. The Avesta does not directly tell us where Airyana-vaêja was situated. But, as we saw above that the Dâîtî (with its afluent Darêja), with which it is associated, was situated in Atarpatakân, we may take it that Airyana-vaêja also was situated in Âtarpâtakân. However, we will further determine the situation from Pahlavi books also.

(B) AIRÂN-VÊJ IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

Just as the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd is the Avestaic Zarthusht-nameh, so the 7th book of the Dinkârd is properly said to be the Pahlavi Zarthusht-nâmeh!

(a) There, in the seventh book, Irân-vêj is spoken of as the country where the good Dâitî runs.

न्छन्त मुन्न क्ला १०१८) मा

(b) The same reference occurs further on in Chapter IX3.

¹ Dastur Darabji's Dinkard, Vol. XIII, Introduction, p. IX.

² Ibid Vol. XIV, Text p. 83, l. 9, Bk. VII, Chap. VII 60. West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 107, Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 60. D. M. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 668, l. 2.

Ibid Text, p 91, 1. 7 Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 23, West, Chap. IX, 23,
 S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 112. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 672, 1, 1.

(c) Then, in another place, fire appeals to Ahura Mazda to be sent away to Airân-vêj from other countries where it is not well cared for. We read:

i.e., Then O Oharmazd! take (yensiun) me (there); then (adin) give (i.e., place) me there in the midst of Airân-vêj.

- (d) Then the van-i javit thish i.e., the tree which does no harm is spoken of as being in Airân-vêj².
- (e) In another place the hill of Dâitî, the Chakât Dâitî is spoken of as being in Airân-vêj.³

(ا مرس د مدهد د عل مدرساها)

- 2. The Bundehesh, Airân-vêj is mentioned hesh. 9 times:
- (a) Chap. XII, 25, where Irân-vêj is said to be the country of the mountain Kundrasp.
- (b) Chap. XIV, 4, where it is mentioned as the place where certain chosen cattle are referred to as having been carried to Airân-vêj.
- (c) Chap. XX, 13, where it is spoken of as the country of the Dâitî river, the river full of noxious creatures.
- (d) Chap. XX, 32, where Airân-vêj is said to be the country of the river Darêja near which was the house of Zoroaster's father.

⁴ Ibid Vol. XVII, p. 22, ll. 11-12, Bk. IX, Chap. XI, 3. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 190, Dinkard, Book IX, Chap. XII.3. Dastur Darabji's Dinkard, Vol. XVII, Text p. 22, ll. 11-12, Chap. XI, 3. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 797, l. 9.

t West, S. B. E, Vol. XXXVII, p. 202. Bk. 1X, Chap. XVI. 13. Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XVII, p. 38, l. 10. Chap. XV, 11.

⁶ Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XVII, p. 47, ll. 3-4, Bk. IX, Chap. XIX 3, West, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 210, Bk. IX, Chap. XX, 3. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 809, l. 3.

- (e) Chap. XXV, 11, where it is spoken of as the country where winter arrives on roz Adar, man Deh, the day when all men kindle a fire.
- (f) Chap. XXIX, 4, where Airân-vêj is spoken of as "Var-i Jam-kard" i.e., the colony founded by Jamshid. This is just in line with what we saw above, in the references in the Avesta, where Jamshed was associated with Airân-vêj.
- (g) Another passage in the same chapter (s. 5) speaks of Airân-vêj as containing the "van-i javît bîsh" i.e., the tree keeping away pain.
- (h) Another passage (s. 12) in the same chapter is the most important passage for our purpose of identification. We read: "Airân-vêj is in the direction of Atarôpâtakân."

मन्याक ना कार्यात तथातिक विष्

Thus according to this passage, Airân-Vêj is in the direction or in the quarter (kost) of Atarópâtakân, the modern Azerbaijân.

(i) Chap. XXXII, 3. This passage also is very important. We learn from it, that Airân-Vêj was the very first country where Zarathushtra preached his new religion. We read:

हिनात के ने का किया के कि प्रतिति का कार के कि कि ति ति ति वि

¹ Justi's Bundehesh, p. 70, l.8. Ervad Tahmuras's Grand Bundehesh (1908), p. 198, l. 13. My Bundehesh (1901), p. 148, l. 17. Westergaard's Text, p. 70, l.8. Edition of M. R. Unwala (1897) p. 82, l. 6. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 120. Chapter XXIX, 12 Anquetil Dr. Perron, T. II p. 410, Chap. XXX. Windischmann Zoroastrische Studien, p. 112. p. 13.

² Justi's Text, p. 79, l. 12. Grand Bundehesh of T. D. Anklesaria, p. 235, l. 5. (Here, we have the word nazdest in place of fartûm). Westergaard's Text, p. 79, l. 11. Unwala's Lithographed ed., p. 92, l. 12. My Bundehesh p. 176. E. K. Antia's Pazend Bundehesh, Pazend Texts, p. 57, l. 6. Chap. 25. Anquetil Du Perron, Tome II, p. 419, Chap. XXX. Anquetil's footnote 9 is interesting and shows, how this sentence has been read and understood in various ways. He reads friz dâd for fraz yasht. He says that some read the word preceding Mediomâh, viz parshunt (spread), as Farsho (s) ta (r) and some as pursant i.c. with years, and some as "pur sud" "with success". West. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 141, Chap. XXXII. 3. Windischmann. Zoroastrische Studien, p. 119, Chap. XXIII.

Translation.—Zoroaster, when he brought the religion, he first praised (frâz-yasht) (and) spread it in Airân-Vêj. Mediômâh accepted the religion from him.

This passage then points to Airân-Vêj as the country of the first appearance of Zoroaster as a new prophet.

- 3. Minokherad. In Minokherad, there are several references to Airân-Vêj.
- (a) We read in Chap. XLIV, 17, that there was a strong winter there¹.

i.e., The demon of Winter is more powerful (pâtakhshâtar) in Airân-Vêj.... There are 10 months of winter and two months of summer in Airân-Vêj.

This description of winter is the same as that in the Vendîdâd (Chap. I, 4).

(b) A further reference in the same book and chapter speaks of Airân-Vêj as being superior to other countries. We read (Chap. XLIV, 24)².

i.c., Oharmazd created Airân-vêj better than other places and towns.

(c) Then Kangdez is spoken of as being in the direction of Airân-vêj.

¹ Dânâk-u Mainyô-i Khard, Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, edited by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, with an Introduction by myself, p. 128, l. 2. Dastur Darab's Text, Ed., p. 65, l. 11. West's Mainyo-i-Khard, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, p. 44. Translation, p. 172. S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86, Chap. XLIV, 17.

² Ervad T. D. Anklesaria's Text, p. 128, l. 7. Dastur Darab's Text, p. 65, l. 16. West's Pazand-Sanskrit Texts, p. 45, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86.

واته ها مهد ده له اکدر و الا دهاده مهدلم

Translation.—Kangdez is placed in the eastern region (rûn) near Satvas within the limits (vinand) of Airân-vêj.

(d) Airân-vêj is the seat of Jamshed's Var or colony

i.c., The Var made by Jamshed was made underneath the ground in Airân-vêj.

(e) Airân-vêj is spoken of as being in the region of Khaniras:

i.e., Gopatshâh is in Airân-vêj in the region of Khaniras.

To sum up the contents of the references to Airân-vêj in the Avestâ and Pahlavi books: (a) Airân-vêj is the country of the Darêja and the Dâitî River. (b) It was the seat of Jamshed's var or colony (c) It was situated in Âtarópâtakân. (d) It was the country where Zoroaster first preached his religion and made Maidyômâh his first disciple. (e) It has a long severe winter of ten months. (f) It is situated in the region of Khaniras. Of all the references, the most important is that of the Bundehesh, which definitely says, that it was situated in Âtarôpâtakân.

Later Oriental writers differ as to the extent and area of Airân-vêj or Irân. Dastur Hoshang says under the word Airân-vêj (Vendîdâd, Glos-ân-vêj. sary, p. 15), that according to Persian geographers, Airân-vêj, included many countries.

¹ T. D. Anklesaria's Text, p. 164. Dastur Darab's Text, p. 85, l. 6. West's Pazand-Sanskrit Text, p. 56, l. 7. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 109, Chap. LXII, 13-14.

² Ibid, Ibid, Ibid. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 109, Chap. LXII, 15.

³ Ibid, p. 111, West, Chap. LXII, 31. T. D. Anklesaria's Text, op. cit, p. 166, l. 11, Dastur Darab's Ed., p. 86, l. 19.

ولایت عراق و فارس و خراسان و آذربیجان و ابواز و طبرستان و بیشتر از حدود شام را نیزگویند

Here, we see, that in the name Irân, were included, Irâq, Fars, Khorâssân, Âzarbaijân, Ahwâz, Tabâristân and even Syria. Yaqout¹ in his Modjem el Bouldan, on the authority of Abou'r-Rihan el-Kharezmi, includes Fars, Djebal and Khoraçân in Irân. But all these Arab writers seem to refer to the later area and extent of Airân-vêj. They seem to refer more to the countries known as the Airyana or Iranian countries.

We saw above, that in the Vendîdâd (I, 3-4), it is said of Airân-vêj, that there were ten months The cold of Airwinter and two of summer. The Minoân-vêj. kherad (West, Chap. XLIV, 17, S. B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86) also refers to it. It says: "The demon of winter is more powerful in Airân-vêj. And it is declared by Revelation that in Airân-vêj 1 there are ten months of winter and two months of summer and even those two months of warm weather are cold to water, cold to earth and cold plants. And their adversity is the winter." This statement has led many a scholar to look elsewhere for Airân-vêj, because Azerbaijân, where Airân-vêj is said to have been situated, is not so cold. But, in this connection, one may read with some interest, what Prof. Jackson says from his own experience of the cold of Azerbaijan as late as in March. He says: "In the daytime I was compelled to wear my sleeping-jacket over my head to shield my frost-beaten face from the congealing wind, and as evening fell I muffled a bathrobe over this to add some warmth. I envied anyone whose lot it might be to make the journey in midsummer instead of in winter, and I understand why the Avesta regarded winter as 'the work of demons' and said that it was created by Ahriman as a blight to mar the perfection of Airyana Vaejah, the Azerbaijan of to-day, which otherwise would have been a paradise. In this land the Vendîdâd says 'there are ten months of winter and two months of summer. A gloss, it true, changes the text to 'five months of winter and seven months of summer,' but judging from my own discomfort (for March seemed in the Avestan words to be the very 'heart of winter' zimahe zaredhaēm), I felt inclined to agree with the original reading." Again, we must bear in mind, that Prof.

¹ Dictionaire Géographique, &c., de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, 63.

² Persia Past and Present, p.

Jackson speaks here about the plains. But, in the mountains close by, there must be more terrible cold; and poets and seers like the old writers of the Vendidad, often wrote from the tops of mountains.

Henri Rawlinson also speaks thus of the cold of the country: "The severity of the winter is equally characteristic; for I suppose there is no inhabited part of Azerbaijan where the snow lies as deep as around Takht-i-Soleiman."

I was travelling in Azerbaijan in the latter part of September (1925), and then even, when I expressed a desire to go to some place on the mountain of Sahand, which I saw daily from the plains, I was prevented on the ground, that there was terrible cold there.

We find, that Henri Rawlinson, on various grounds, identifies

Rawlinson's Identification of Airan-vej as Atarpatakan. the land of Airân-vêj with that of Azerbaijân. In his very interesting and learned article on the "Site of Atropatenian Echatana,"

he says: "I believe there are sufficient reasons for identifying the Airyana Vaedjô, or Aïryana the pure, of the Zend Avestâ, with Azerbaijân. Monsieur Quatremère has succeeded, in the most satisfactory manner, in tracing the application to the province of Media, of the names of Aria and Ariana from the remotest antiquity down to times comparatively modern Anquetil du Perron, in translating the supposed works of Zoroaster, insisted on assimilating the title of Airyana to that of the province Arran, north of the Araxes."2 In the Vendidâd, Airân-vêj is spoken of as containing the calamity of snakes. On this point, Rawlinson "The circumstance of the great snake, also, which Ahriman created in the rivers, is, perhaps not less curious, when we remember that there are as many stories of this nature connected with the Median dynasty from its bearing the family name of Azdehâk, or the Dragon, and when we see that at this present day, a ridge of rock, formed by the calcarious deposit of the water, retains this very title of the Dragon."3

^{1.} Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Echatana, by H. C. Rawlinson. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (1841), 10th Vol., p. 131.

² Ibid, Vol. X, p. 129.

³ Ibid p. 131.

IX.

(F) ÂTAROPÂTAKÂN. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? IT IS THE MODERN ÂZERBAIJÂN.

Having traced the situation of the house of Pôrushasp on the banks of the Darêja, an affluent of the Dâiti in Airân-vêj, in the country of Âtarôpâtakân, we will now speak of Ātarôpâtakân and settle its situation.

Although we find a name Atarêpâta (-4044).)
in the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. 13, 102), the name there, is that of a person and not that of a place or country. So, we will turn to Pahlavi books.

Firstly, as to the name itself, the word Azerbaijan comes

Meaning of the word Azerbaijan.

from Atarêpâta (-upwej-[]) in the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. XIII, 102

where the word seems to be the name of one of the members of King Gushtasp's family.² The name may mean

"one protected" (pâta, from -ue) S. II. to protect), or one

who protects (in the sense of Jugues S. पात्रा defender). In the Farvardin Yasht there are several other names that are derived from âtar, fire, c.g., Âtarê-kharenangh, Âtarê-chithra, Âtarê-zantu, Âtarê-danghu, Âtarê-dâta, Ātarê-vanu and Âtarê-savangh. Similarly, we find in the Vendîdâd (XVIII, 52)4, the names of Âtarê-dâta, Âtarê-chithra, Âtarê-zantu and Âtarê-dakhyu, the last of these four names, being another form of Âtaré-danghu.

Again, we learn from Firdousi⁵ that Asfandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, had two sons, bearing the names Âzar-farûz (آزرفروز) and Âzar-noush (آزرفوش). The members of Gushtasp's family may have even founded some Fire-temples bearing their names.

¹ Vide my "Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names," pp. 30 and 32.

² Vide my "Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names," p. 31.

³ Farvardin Yasht, 102, Westergaard, p. 238.

⁴ Ibid, p. 463.

⁵ Mohl. Tome IV, 456.

For example, we learn from Firdousi that Azar-noush had founded a Fire-temple named Noush-azar which was latterly destroyed by Arjasp, the Turanian king. The Pahlavi Bundehesh gives the name of one of the four sons of Asfandyar as Atarô-tarsah¹.

This old Avestaic word Âtaro-pâta may have suggested for this part of Persia the name Atar-pâtakân, i.e., "the country protected by Fire or the country protecting or holding Sacred Fire". Then, the Pahlavi word Âtaropâtakân (אורים אורים) has given us the Persian form 'Azarbâdgân which latterly became Âzarbejân or Azrabaijan (אורים אורים). Yaqout takes the word in the above sense of protection. He says: "Ibn el-Moqannâ says that Âzerbaijân takes its name from Azerbâd Azar signifies fire in the language of the Magis and bâigân (אורים אורים) would have the sense of 'guardian or protector'. This word would, then mean 'guardian of fire 'or 'house of fire'. This opinion is very probable because the temples of fire are very numerous in this country."2

Strabo (Bk. XI, Ch. XII, I), seems to support the above statement of Yaqout, made on the authority of Ibn el-Moquanna, that the place takes its name from one Azerbâd. He says: It (Atropatian Media) had its name from Atropatus, a chief who prevented this country, which is a part of Greater Media, from being subjected to the dominion of the Macedonians. When he was made king he established the independence of this country." The Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airan also connects the name, as we will see later on, at the end of this section, with a person, but the person named is one Airan Gushasp who also is spoken of as a chief of the army (sepâh-pat). Strabo speaks of Atropatus as a chief.

Yaqout notes an interesting fact about the saving of the province and its fire-temples from ruin at the hands of the invading Arabs. He says: "This Khalif (Omar ben Khattab), on sending Moghaïrah ben Schâbah as governor to Koufah,

¹ Chap. XXXI, 29. Vide my Bundehesh, p. 172.

² I translate from the French translation of Barbier de Meynard (Dictionnaire Géographique, &c., p. 15).

³ Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1856), Vol. II, p. 262.

sent him a letter which gave to Hodhaifah ben el-Yemen, the government of Âzerbaijân. This person, who was then at Nehawend, marched immediately on Âzerbaijân at the head of a large army and stopped at first at Ardebil which is to-day comprised in the province, and where had united the chief persons (مرزبان) who had come from Badjrewân, Mimend, Bedd, Miândj, and other neighbouring villages. They fought energetically and in the end made peace, on paying 800,000 drachms (about eight millions), on condition that their lives would be saved, that no prisoners be taken, that the temples of fire shall be respected, that the Kurds of Belaschjân (بالشجان), of Silân (سيال), of Miândouzân (سيالوزان) may not be molested, and that the inhabitants of Schiz (شين), in particular, should have the right to sing their plaintive ballads (زفر)) during their religious feasts as well as to observe their faith publicly."2

We will now examine the Pahlavi books to determine the Pahlavi Books position of Ataropâtakân.

I. The Pahlavi Vendîdâd. We read the following in the Pahlavi Vendîdâd (Chap. I. 15);—

त्राकित्येष्म कि त्रिम क्षित क्षिति । त्र विद्या क्षिति क्षिति । त्र विद्या क्षिति क्

¹ Dastur Darabji's Vendîdâd p. 8 Dastur Hoshang's p. 15; Spiegel's p. 5. Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarâti Ed. p. 4. Nowroji Kanga's p. 18.

² I give my translation from the French of Barbier de Meynard's Dictionnaire Géographique. p. 16.

³ Barbier de Meynard translates the word in French as "complaintes", which word means "plaintive ballads". Steingass explains the word zafr as "making a noise in the throat". I think, that the reference is to the Parsi custom of reciting some prayers in a kind of muttering tone, in what is spoken of, as "baj", spoken of by Mahomedan authors as zamzame ().

में दुर तथार द्यावा । नि त्यावा : मेत्रावा तक तम वामेरिक यत त्येक तम किया त्यावा तक तुमें शात ता तवक नि में त्ये तथा में तत्या। मेत्रावि ति द्वातिया में दुर तथार

Translation.—The twelfth of the places and cities which I, who an Hormuzd, created best is Rak which is of the three classes in Atarôpâtakan. [There are some who call it Raê..... There are some who say that Zarathushtra was of that place. He (Zarathushtra) was the head (pat) of these three (classes of the place) which they called Raê. It is called (the city) of three classes because there three classes (patvand, lit. relatives) were (i. e. arose) in and continued from that place.

We see from this passage of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd that the author speaks of Rak, called Raê by some, in Atarôpâtakân, as the place of Zoroaster.

We find the following references to Atarôpâtakân in the 2. The Bunde- Bundehesh:

(a) (Chap. XII, 26.) It is the country where the Asnavand mountain is situated

म्थार हा हा। त्यावित्यहम

i.c. The Asnavand mountain (is situated) in Atarôpâtakân. 1

(b) (Chap. XX, 23) Here the river Sped is spoken as being in Atarôpâtakân and as the place where Dahâk (Zohâk) prayed to Ahriman

¹ Justi's Bundehesh, p. 24, 1.2. West, S. B. E. V., p. 39. Westergaard, p. 24, 1.2. Unwala's lithographed text, p. 28, 1, 8. Windischmann 5. 74 My Bundehesh, p. 42. The Grand Bundehesh (Behramgore, T. Anklesaria's Ed., p. 79, 1.11) gives the name of the mountain as which can be read as Ausind.

क्टा क्षेत्र क्षेत्रक क्षातिक्ष्य भूगार में किन्य क्षातिक्षेत्र भूगार में किन्य

i.e. The Sapid river in Âtarôpâtakân they say that Dahâk asked for a desire (ayâft) there from Ahriman and (his) demons.

We find from this passage that, just as Jamshed with his var has been associated with Airân-vêj in Âtarôpâtakân, so Zohâk, the great enemy of Jamshed also is associated with the country of Âtarôpâtakân. This passage supports the later Arab writers who have included Iraq in Airân-vêj in the country of Âtarôpâtakân.

- (c) Similarly the river Zahâvayi is said to be in Âtarôpâtakân (Chap. XX, 25) ² Dr. West says, that it is "possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîjan, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pars. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab."
- (d) (Chap. XXII, 2). The lake Chaechast is spoken of as being situated in Âtarô pâtakân. This lake is, as we will see later on, identified with the modern lake Urumiah:

म मेरी के तार के ताराक कर एक मेर कि मेरिक कि निक्र निक्र कि

- i.c. Lake Chaêchast is in Âtarôpâtakân. Its waters are warm, keeping off (lit. separate from) sickness (bish, pain) 4 wherein no life-bearing (jân-var) thing exists.
- (c) XXIX, 12. We have referred above (sec. VIII. B) to this passage which speaks of Atarôpatakan as the country containing Airan-vei.

Justi's Bundehesh, p. 52,1, 12. My Bundehesh, p. 94. West, S. B. E.
 P. 80. Windischmann, p. 98. Westergaard, p. 52, 1, 11.

Justi p. 52, l. 16, My Bundohesh, p. 96. West, p. 81, Windischmann
 p. 98. Westergaard, p. 52, l. 15.

² Justi p. 55, l. 11. My Bundehesh, p. 103, West, p. 85, Westergaard p. 55, l. 10, Windischmann, p. 101.

⁴ This seems to be a reference to its health-giving properties. I remember having heard, when travelling in its district, that people from, adjoining places went there to have a bath.

We will now look into the Zadsparam.

(a) Chap. XI, 9. Here Atarôpâtakân is spoken of as containing the mount Asnavand on which.

2. Zådsparam. burnt the fire Gushasp. We read:

निकात है। प्राथित हो। प्राथित हो। प्रभाविकारिय

Translation.—Atar Güshasp (was placed) on Mount Asnavand in Átarôpátakán.

(b) Chap. XVI, 12. The second reference to Atarôpâtakân in the Zadsparan is in connection with Zoroaster's miracle of being thrown in a den of wolves, where he was miraculously saved. His mother, on going to the den under the apprehension of finding her child dead, was pleased to find it alive. Then, she said to herself: "I will not hereafter, as long as I live, give the child to any body, even if both the towns-Ragh and Notar were to unite together here." The last words, viz. "Not even if both the towns-Ragh and Notar-were to unite together"

have, as it were, become proverbial. They mean something like our English words "Even if Heaven and Earth were to meet." This phrase is used more than once in different places. 3 Now, here, these two provinces are spoken of as being in Atarôpâtakan.

भिन के त्याकिकशाकि के निवस के भिन م محددها فا ده والعزد كرامانهم كم ليده ١ निकामकता में १०१

4 Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâttsparam, by B. T. Anklesaria, p. 64, Chap. X, 15.

West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 147. Zadsparam, Chap. XVI, 12.

¹ Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâtsparam by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, p. 42, 1.13, Chap. III 85. West, S. B. E. Vol. V. p. 186, Chap. XI 9.
² Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâtsparam by B.T. Anklesaria p. 64, l. 8, Chap. X. 14, West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 146, Zâdsparam Chap., XVI, 11.
³ (a) West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII. p. 29. Dinkârd Bk. VII Chap. II, 51, Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 36. l. 3. Chap. I 51. (b), West (Ibid) p. 40. Madon's Ed. Vol. II. p. 609, l. 14. Chap. III, 19. Dastur Dorab. Vol. XIII, p. 52. Chap. II. 19. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, 617. l. 20 617, 1, 20,

Translation.—These two towns are in Atarôpâtakân, in thought like (chegun) sixty farsangs from Chist. Zarthusht was from Ragh and Vishtasp from Notar.

This Chist seems to be a short form of (lake) Chaechast the modern Urumiah. We see from this passage, that the early infant life of Zoroaster is associated with Atarôpatakan and with its lake Chaechasta.

In the Bahman Yasht (chap. I, 7) there is a reference 3. The Bahman to the fact of king Khusro (Nosherwan Adal) Yasht. sending for learned priests from all parts of the country and among them a priest named Nishāpur of Dad Hormazd from Atarôpātakān.

Translation.—That Anoshiravan called before himself Khusru (son) of Mahvandad and Nishapur 2 (son) of Dâd Ormazd who was the Dastur of Âtarôpâtakân.

The Pazend Jamaspi speaks of Azerbaijan as a place of evil repute. It says:³

1 Zend-i Vohuman Yasht by Dastur Kekobad Adarbad, p. 2,1. 13. West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 194, Chap. I, 7.

² Dr. West takes the name as "Dâd-Ahurmazd of Nishapur." The usual 'i' between the two names is joined with the word 'Nishapore.' This seems to have led him to take this form as the name. But I think that it is a small mistake of the copyist and we are not to take the word as Nishapuri as West seems to have taken it. Dastur Kekebad takes the name as Shapur of Dad Hormazd. But then he ignores the 'i' after Dad Hormazd.

³ Vide the Pazend Text in my.Jamaspi, p. 58, 1, 9 for Text; p. 108 for translation.

a village, a town.

This statement about Âzerbâijân refers to the fact of the attempts of annoyance made against Zoroaster by evil-minded persons of the country. A passage in the Dinkârd shows that even the country of the Prophet's mother was not free from such evil-minded persons.

A Pahlavi treatise, named Shatroiha-i Airân, of which I will speak at some length later on, seems to show that Âtarôpâtakân was also the name of a town. We read therein ¹

i.e. The city of Âtarôpâtakân was founded by Airan Gushasp who was the commander of the army at Âtarôpâtakân.

Possibly the city latterly gave its name to the province. From Summary of the reforences to Atarôpâtakân, we learn the following facts.

- (1) It was the country where stood the Asnavand mountain.
- (2) It was the country, in which stood the lake Chaêchast, the modern Urumiâh.
- (3) It was the country wherein burnt the sacred fire, Adar-Gushasp.
- (4) It was the country where occurred an extraordinary occurrence of Zoroaster's childhood, viz., his being saved from a den of wolves in which some evil-minded people of the country had thrown him.

Now several facts lead us to say, that the Âtarôpâtakân of the Pahlavi books is modern Azerbaijân. The most evident of these are the following:

(1) Firstly, Azerbaijân is a later form of the name of the country derived from the word Âtarôpâtakân, which, at first, became Adarbâdgan and then Adarbaijân or Azerbaijân. The word when written in Pahlavi can assume the form.

¹ Pallavi Texts by Dastur Jamaspji, p. 24, l. 2. Vide my Translation in English in my Aiyâdgâr-i- Zarirân, Shatroiha-i- Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i- Seistan, p. 115.

- (2) Secondly, Chaechasta is spoken of as a lake in Ataropâtakân. Chaêchasta is spoken of by a later Mahomedan writer on the Geography of Persia, as we will see later on, as the modern lake Urumiah which is situated in Azerbaijân. So, Âtarêpâtakân, the country of lake Chaêchasta, is the same as Azerbaijan, the country of the lake Urumiâh.
- (3) The Pahlavi books speak of a mountain called Asnavand in Âtarôpâtakân. Â mountain of a corresponding name is in modern Azerbaijan. We will refer to it later on.

Χ.

PERSIAN BOOKS BY PARSEE WRITERS ZARTHUSHT-NÂMEH.

Before proceeding further in the matter of the remaining further questions of our inquiry, we will see in this section, what some later Zoroastrian writers of Persia have said in Persian on the subject of Zoroaster's birthplace.

The Persian Zarthûsht-nâmeh 1 was written, as the author says,

The Persian Zarthûsht-nameh Farzaneh Behram Pazdu.

within two days. It was commenced on roz Adar and finished on roz Khorshed mâh Aban 647 Yazdazardi. The latter date corresponds to 12th August 1278 2. So, the work is about 650 years old. The author speaks of himself as

I For an account of the book, vide the following: (a) Dr. West's article on Pahlavi Literature (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie), p. 122. (b) A free Gujarati version of Zarthusht-nameh with Notes, published by Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjana in 1864. Two editions of it have since then been published, the first in 1902 and the second in 1924. (c) The Text and Translation with Introduction and Notes, published in St. Petersbourg in 1904, by Prof. Frédéric Rosenberg under the title of "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht—Nama)". (d) Anquetil Du Perron's "Vic de Zoroastre" (Life of Zoroaster), in the second part of his first volume of "Zend-Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre", pp. 1-70. Anquetil says: "Co que je vais en rapporter est pris, pour la plus grande partie, du Zordustnamah et du Tchengréghatch-namah, Poëmes Porsans" (p. 6). (c) The translation in English by E. B. Eastwick, published in 1843 by Dr. John Wilson of Bombay as an appendix to his "Parsi Religion" (p. 475 et seq.) (f) Hyde has referred to this Zarthusht-nameh in the 24th Chapter of his "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarun (2nd ed. pp. 332-35.)

چل و بفت با ششصه از یوه گرد : بهان ماه آبان کم گیتی فسره 2 من این روز آذر گرفتم بهست .: بمآبان چون برجشن بودیم مست شب خور نوشتم من اینوا بکام : بدو روز کردم من اورا تمام Le Livre de Zoroastre, (Zarâtusht Nama) de Zartusht-i Bahrâm ben Pajdo, public et traduit part Frédéric Rosenberg (1904,) (ll. 1548.50).

Zarthush Behram Pazdu. It seems that the author was encouraged to write the book by another learned man, named Kaikâus, who was the son of Kaikhosru who lived in Raê.2 The author gives the following account of his work: 3 "I saw a book in the possession of a Mobad-i Mobadân (i.e. a High Priest; lit. a priest of priests), which contained various matters, such as, an account of the world (sar guzasht-i Jehân), an account of the ancients (pîshînyân) and of kings, a commentary (sharh) of the Avesta and Zend and the story of Zoroaster's birth and his life. This manuscript book had got so old and worn out that it was difficult to handle it. The old Mobad, who possessed it, was getting anxious, lest the book may get destroyed (gardad tabâh), and so he asked me to translate it in Persian. I am a young man, as yet, free from the anxiety of a married life. I am one who am putting on a kusti on my waist and know something of Vasta (Avesta) and Zend. I took to heart what the old Mobad said and took up the thought of putting the work into verse. spoke on the subject to my father Kaikhosru the son of Dara who belonged to an old family of Rai (ري). My father encouraged me to take up the work".4

This statement shows that the author followed some old written and oral tradition. This is the oldest Persian book, written by a Zoroastrian on the subject of Zoroaster. While speaking of the ancestry of Zoroaster, he speaks of Rae as being the country of the family. We read:

ازین تخم فرخ که گفتم برای 5 : یکی مره بوهست پاکیوه ای مراو مره را نام به پیترسب : مان نام فرزنه او پرشسب زرا نشت از پشتش آمه پدید : که شد بندهای جهانوا کلید

گر ایدون که نامم ندانی می ناگر بشنوی یا بخوانی می ایمی ایمی کم زرتشت بهوام بن بژدو ام نامی یادگاری از آن مردو ام Ibid. ll. 1553-54.

2 The author says:

نوشتم من این قصهٔ ارجمند : ز کفتار دانند بروشمند منومند دین دار کارس کی : ورا باب کینخسرو از شهر ری

(Prof. Rosenberg's Edition, ll. 1540-41) i.c. I have written this pious story from the words of the learned, intelligent, clever, religious-minded Kai Kaus. His father was Kai Khosru and he was of the city of Rac.

- 3 I do not translate but merely give the purport.
- 4 Rosenberg's Text p. 3.
- instead of باکیز درای instead of باکیز درا and ایاکیز درای instead of باکیز درای است.

Translation.—From this noble stock (i.c., of Faridun) of which I spoke, there was a personage of pious thoughts in Rac. Tho name of this person was Paitarasp. The name of his son was Pôurûshasp. Zoroaster who was the key for the difficulties of the world, was descended from him. There was also a woman from this (family) stock, possessing glory, crown, good stature and dignity. She was the mother of fortunate Zarthust. Her name was Dughdho.

Dastur Peshotan's version of the Zarthusht-nameh seems to have followed a Ms. which gives the last word of the first line of the above first couplet as Rae and he takes the name to be that of the city of Rae.¹

In the Persian Rivâyat, compiled by Darab Hormuzdyâr, on the authority of the letters and writings received from Persia, we have an account of Zoroaster under the heading of

او کرسی زرتشت پیغمبر و حقیقت بای او i.e. The Geneology of the Prophet Zoroaster and some facts about him. We read there.

همر مان اشو زرتشت اسفنتمان ری

قالب اشو زرشت بشهر بلخ نهادة است ع

Translation.—The city of the house of Holy Zartosht Asiantoman was Rae. Four chiefs of the Ragha of Zarathustra. The dead body of Holy Zortosht is placed in the city of Balkh. This passage speaks of Ragi or Rae as the place of the

house of Zoroaster and of Balkh as the place of his birth.

line. But the foot-note collations give correct reading. The text followed by Dastur Peshotan in his Gujarati translation (p. 10) also gives the word as Rac.

¹ Dastur Poshotan's version runs thus: "ઉપર જ્યાંવેલા (પાદશાહ ક્રેરેદનના) માખારેક ખાંનદાનના એક દાનેશમ'દ મરદ રચે શેહર માં રેહતા હતા." (પેગમબર સાહેબ અશા લરતાશના લનમારાના એહવાલમાં દશતુર જરશાશત બેહેરામે બનાવેલાં કારસી પુશતકના શરેહ સાથે તરનુમા. પેહેલી આવૃત્તિ (સને ૧૭૬૪) પા. ૧૦. બીજી આવૃત્તિ ૧૯૦૨. પા ૬૦

⁽²⁾ Darab Hormazdyar's Rivayatby Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala, with my Introduction Vol. II., p. 43.

I will refer here to a recent book, the second edition of which was published as recently as 1919 A. C. in Bombay, by Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrokh of Tehran, a distinguished Persian Zoroastrian, a member of the present Persian Parliament. The title of the book is Farugh-i Zazda yasni i.c. "The Light of Mazdaism." It may be taken as reflecting the view of the modern Zoroastrians of Persia which view seems to have been guided by what is said in the above Zarthûst-nâmeh. We read therein: المرشهرري كم بزيان اوستا (رغ) و بزيان پهلوي (ركا) نوشتم است

Translation.—The Holy Zarathustra Aspitamân was born in the city of Rae, which, in the Avesta language, is written as Ragh, and, in the Pahlavi language, as Ragâ.

Rao, the City of Zoroaster's Mother.

Rao, the City of Zoroaster's Mother.

Rao, the City of Zoroaster's Mother.

Is mentioned in the Vendidad (I. 16) as one of the best 16 places erected by Ahura Mazda. In the Pahlavi rendering of that passage, we read, that it is in Atarôpâtakân. It seems to be a city in modern Azerbaijân and not the modern Rae near Tehrân.

XI.

LATER MAHOMEDAN WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT OF ZOROASTER'S COUNTRY.

We have so far examined what old Iranian writers of the Avesta and Pahlavi books said of the birth-place of Zoroaster. We have seen on their authority, that Zoroaster was born in the house of Póurûshaspa, which was situated on a high ground on the banks of the Darêja, an affluent of river Dâitî, which ran în Airan-vêj in Âtrôpâtakân which is modern Âzerbaijân. We have so far answered six of the successive questions (A to F) with which we started our inquiry about the Home of Zoroaster. Now, before proceeding further to answer the other two remaining questions G and H—viz. (G) in what part of Âzerbaijân and (H) in what town of that part was that Home situated,—we will see, what some later well-known Mahomedan authors say on the subject of the Home of Zoroaster.

¹ Farugh-i Mazdaysni by Kaikhusru shahrokh Kermani, second edition of 1919, p. 29, last line.

Tabari, (A. C. 838-923), in his account of the reign of Gushtâsp, gives the following account of Zoroaster:

ِ مغان را یکی پیغامبر بوده است کر اورا زردشت گویند کر این دین آتش پرستی را او درمیان آورد و دعوی کرد کر من پیغامبرم و آتش پرستی ایشان را صواب نمود تا بایام گشتاسب و او شاگره عزیر علیرالسلام بود و عزیر علیرالسلام را منخالف شده بود پس آن استاد زردشت را دعا کرد و گفت خدای تعالی عزوجل او را علامتی کناد و نبی اسرائیل او را از میان خویش بیرون کردند و او از بیت المقدس بعراق آمد و از عراق ببلخ شد نزد پدر گشتاسپ و دعوی پیغامبری کرد و گفت خدای عزوجل سرا بسوی تو فرستاد، است و ترا فرصود است کر این آتش پرستی را فزون کنی و ترا این شریعت با فرموده است و این زردشت از عزیر من پیغامبر علیمر والسلام علامت ها دیده بود و ازو سایخنها یاد گرفتهر بود و گشتاسپ چون بر وی بگردید و آتش پرستی ایشان را صواب کرد 2

Translation.—The Magis have a prophet, whom they call Zerdasht, who introduced this religion of Fire-worship. He claimed to be a prophet (and said) "I am a prophet." He showed them Fire-worship as a righteous thing till the time of Gushtâsp. He was the disciple of Azir, 3 on whom may there be the blessing of God. He opposed Azir. Then the master prayed for Zerdasht and said that God—all honour and respect on Him—may show him a mark. 4 The Prophet of the people

¹ I follow the abridged Persian rendering as given in Naval Kishor's edition 2 Munshi Naval Kishore's Text, published in July 1874, p. 206, ll. 12 et seq. 3 Zotenberg gives the name as Aziz (Tabari traduit par Zotenberg Vol. I, p. 499). Azir is Esdras of the Christians.

⁴ Zotenberg translates "le dé'figura" i.e. disfigured him.

of Israel (thereupon) removed him from himself and he came from Jerusalem to Irâq and from Irâq went to Balkh to the father of Gushtâsp and claimed to be a prophet and said "God-all honour and respect be on him-has sent me towards you and has ordered you that you promulgate this fire-worship and has ordered to you the observance of these customs. This Zardusht has received marks from my prophet Azir and has learnt (wise) words from him." Gushtâsp when he turned (i.e. was inclined) towards him, made fire-worship righteous for them (i.e. the Magis). 1

This peculiar account of Tabari, makes Zoroaster at first an inhabitant of Jerusalem and then that of Iraq and then represents him as going to Balkh. However this account places him at first in the West. The Arabic text of Tabari (Annales of Tabari by J, De Goeje, Vol. V., P. 648) speaks of Zoroaster going to Azerbaijân from Palestine (نلسطين) to preach his religion and from there to Baltah (Ibid ll. 9 to 12).

Hamzah² Isfahâni, a contemporary of Tabari, in his

Târikh-i Seni Muluk-al-Arz wa l' Anbiyâ
hâni.

"Chronological History of the Kings of the
World and Prophets," associates Zoroaster with Âzerbaijân.
In his account of the reign of Gushtasp, he says:

Dr. Gottwaldt thus translates the Arabic into Latin: "Ad hunc trigesimo regni anno, cum ipse L annos esset natus, Zerduscht Adjerbeidjanensis accessit atque religionem exposuit." Prof. Jackson gives the following translation: "In the thirtieth year of Gushtasp's reign, when he himself was 50 years old, Zardusht of Âdarbaijân came to him and expounded the religion to him." ⁴

¹ Zotenberg's version, given on the authority of another text, differs somewhat from the above version, given by me on the authority of Naval Keshore's Text; but both the versions agree in this, that Zoroaster came to Balkh from the West.

² Dr. Gottwaldt's Edition (Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X. edidit J. M. E. Gottwaldt, 1844), p. 36, l. 18 et seq. *Vide* the Edition of Hamza by the Kaviani Press of Berlin, p. 27, 1. 14.

³ Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium, Libri X, Tome II, Translatio Latina (1848) p. 26.

⁴ Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 199.

Maçoudi, who was born at the end of the 9th century (Died 956 A.C.) speaks of Zoroaster as Zeradasht (زرادشت) and as coming to the court of 3. Maçoudi. Yustasf (يستاسف) or Gustasp as one of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan (سن ابل آذربيطان). The genealogy of Zoroaster, 1 which Magoudi gives, corresponds, to a certain extent, to what we find recited in our Afringans. He says, that at Zoroaster's instance Gustasp sought out the sacred fire founded by Jamshed in the province of Khârzem (خوارزم) and placed it in a Fire temple in the city of Darabjard (مدينه دارابجره) in Pars. (پارس). In Maçoudi's time (Hijri 332), the temple was known as Azarjûi (آذرجوى) and was held in high respect by the Magis of his time. This sacred fire was, according to Persian tradition, ere this, discovered by Knikhosru, when he went on an expedition against the Tures in Kharzem.2 He says further that the Magis placed Zoroaster 258 years before Ålexander.

In these references, the reference, most important to us in our present inquiry, is, that which says that Zoroaster came from Azerbaijân.

Abu'l Fath Muhammad Asch-Sharastâni (A.C. 1086-1153), who is generally known as Sharastâni, because he was born in Sharastân, a town in Khorasan, 4. Sharastani. in his book, entitled Ketâb-ul-milal wa al-nahal كتابالهلل) ر النحل), i.e., "Book on religious and philosophical sects," has a separate chapter on Zoroastrians (الزرادشتية).3 Therein, he thus speaks of the countries of Zoroaster's parents:

الزرادشتية اصحاب زرادشت بن بورشسب الذى ظهر في زمان كشتاسف بن لهراسب الملك و ابوه كان من اذربيجان وامه من الري و اسمها دغدو

¹ Maçoudi's Les Prairies d'Or, par Barbier de Moynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. II, p. 124, Chap. XXI.

² Ibid, Vol. IV, Chap. LXVIII, pp. 75-76.

³ Vide p. 185 (ll. 8 et soq) of Rev. William Curoton's edition, entitled Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects, by Muhammad Al-Sharastoni'l Bort I (1942) tani," Part I (1842).

Dr. Haarbrücher thus renders the version:

"Sie (die Zaraduschtija) sind die Anhänger des Zaraduscht Ibn Bürschasb, welcher in der zeit des Königs Kuschtasf Ibn Luhrasb erschien; sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschan und seine Mutter, mit Namen Dughdu von Rai." 1 (i.e., The Zardushtians are the followers of Zaradusht son of Burschasb who appeared in the time of King Kuschtasf, son of Luhrasb. His father was from Adsarbaidschan and his mother, with the name Dughdu, from Rai).

We see from this passage, that Sharastani speaks of the country of Zoroaster's father as Azerbaijan, and of his mother as Rae.

Further on, Sharastani refers to a tradition of Zoroaster being fed on the milk of a cow which was made to eat a particular kind of herbage. In that connection also, a mountain of Azerbaijan is mentioned as the place where Zoroaster was fed.²

- (a) Yaqout (1178-1228), in his Mo'djem El-Bouldan, while
- 5. Yaqout. speaking of Urumiâh, says: 3 C'est une grande et ancienne ville de l'Azerbaīdjân, à 3 ou 4 milles du lac qui porte so nom. On prétend que c'est la ville de Zeradescht (Zoroastre) et qu'elle a été fondée par les adorateurs du feu." 4 Here, Yaqout says, that the town of Urumiâh in Azerbaijân was the house of Zoroaster.
- (b) Again Yaqout speaks of a place called Oustounawend as a celebrated fortress, and says that, it was said to

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¹ Abu'l-Fath Muhammad asch-Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen, von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücker (1859). Part 1, p. 280.

² Cureton's Ed. op cit. of "The Book of Religious and Philosophical sects" p. 185, last line (جبل عن جبال آذربيجان). Dr. Haarbrücker' German Translation, op. cit., p. 281 (auf die Spitze eines Berges in Adsarbaidschân, i.e., on the summit of a monntain in Azerbaijân). The word jabl here seems to be the same as the Zbara of our Avesta books referred to above (Vend.XIX 4 and 11; vide above Sec. V). Sharistani

also refers here to Zoroaster curing a blind man, at Dinavar (), by dropping into his eyes a few drops of the juice of a plant. Cureton's, *Ibid*, p. 187, 1. 9. Haarbrücker's German Translation, p. 283.

³ I give the version of Barbier de Meynard. Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse (1861), par Barbier de Meynard, p. 26."

⁴ i.c., It is a large and ancient city of Azerbaijan, 3 or 4 miles from the lake of that name. They maintain, that it is the city of Zoroaster and that it was founded by the worshippers of fire."

exist since more than 3000 years and it was the place of mesmogân (elima). He then explains this word, saying that mesmeant grand and mogân signified Magi. This mes is Avesta maz Sub, Pahl. Ob, Pers. A, Sans. A, Latin, magnus. Thus the word masmaga would mean "the High Mobad or Priest." Yaquot then adds that Khaled beseiged this place and destroyed the power of the last of the Chief Magi priests. He also carried away two daughters of this Head priest to

Bagdad.¹ Now this Oustounawend is the Avesta Asnavant (אָנוּשִּיאָט Jamyâd Yasht, Yt. XIX. 5). It was the mountain which is associated with lake Chaêchasta (Urumiâh) in the Âtash Nyâish and Sirouzeh, and which, according to the Bundehesh (Chap. XII, 26), was in Azerbaijân.

- ن (c) Then, Yaqout, while speaking of Shiz (شيخ), says, that it is a district of Azerbaijan and is believed to be the country of Zeradusht, the prophet of the worshippers of Fire.² He adds that Urumiah is the chief place of this district.
- (d) We find another reference to Zoroaster and to his connection with the West, with the country of Azerbaijan, in Yaqout's description of a place named Mah-dinar (ماه دينار). He says, that the place, latterly known as Nchavand, was known by that name. He says, on the authority of another writer, that Mah-Dinar was, at first, known as Din-Zeradasht (دين زرادشت), because its people had accepted the religion of Zoroaster very zealously.

In all these references, Yaqout, associates Zoroaster with Azerbaijan generally, and with some particular places specially. Of Urumiah, he says, that it was taken to be the city of Zoroaster.

(a) Abulfeda⁴ (1273-1331), the celebrated Arabian writer on 6. Abulfeda. History and Geography, who had fought in the Crusades against the Christians and was thus much conversant with this part of the country, says in his History, that Zoroaster was from Âzerbaijân

¹ Ibid p. 33. 2 Ibid p. 367. 3 Ibid p. 515.

⁴ Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica Arabice E. Duobus, (1610). Latin version and notes by H. O. Fleischer (1831), p. 150, l. 18.

زرادشت من الل قريتم من قرى آذربيجان

i.e., Zarâdasht was (one) of the inhabitants of a village out of the villages of Azerbaijan.

(b) According to Hyde, he says in his Annals, that Zoroaster came from Urmi or Urmiah (ارميم or ارمي) 1 which, we know, is in Azerbaijân.

T. Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi, who lived in the early part of the 14th century, refers to Zoroaster in his account of the reign of Gushtâsp,² in his Târikh-i Gazideh (عربخ کلاید کا). He does not directly refer to the country of Zoroaster. But, what he says of Gushtâsp's embassy to Roum (روم) to ask the Romans, to adopt the Zoroastrian faith immediately after himself adopting the faith of Zoroaster, leads us to say, that,

adopting the faith of Zoroaster, leads us to say, that, perhaps, he took Zoroaster to belong to the West. However, he places the religious activity of Gushtâsp, both in the West, and in the East. He represents Gushtâsp as building a great wall in Samarkand against the Turanians, as building the fire temple (الشفانه) of Dizhur (الشفانه) in Iraq and as founding the cities of Baizâ and Fashâ (اليفا و نشأ) in Pars. 3

Mirkhond (1433-98), a bigoted Mahomedan writer, who refers 8. Mirkhond. to Zoroaster and his teachings in offensive language in his account of Gushtâsp, speaks of Azerbaijân as Zoroaster's country. He also, like

¹ Hyde (2nd Ed. p. 315), who refers to Abul Feda as saying that Zoroaster arose in Urmi or Urmia "Apud Abulphedam Vol. 3, p. 58, Zerdusht dicitur ortus ex ارهير Urmi, seu ارهير Urmia." I have not been able to verify this statement of Abul Feda, in his Annals by Adler (1791).

² Prof. Edward Brown's Text of the Târikh-i Guzida (Select History) published in Leyden in 1910, pp. 96, l. 17 to p. 37. Vide Prof. Brown's "Târikh-i-Guzida, abridged in English" (1913) pp. 31-32. According to this author, Faridun had passed to the Romans عمر المساورة على المساورة المساورة

³ Ibid. Text p. 97, last line.

Tabari, represents him as being a disciple of one of Armiah's (Jeremiah's) disciples (رشاگردی یکی از اتلامهٔ ارمیایی). He then represents Zoroaster, as giving to his teachings, the name of Zend and Pâzend (زند و پازند)). He adds that the wrong believers (زند و پازند) bad keshân) who followed these teachings are known as Zendiqs (زندیق) and that many people in the precincts of Âzerbaijân (در حدود آذربایجاس) accepted his teachings.

Then, Mirkhond, differing from others, does not represent Zoroaster as going to the East, to Balkh to the court of Gushtasp, but represents Gushtasp as going from Balkh to the West to Istakhar, to meet Zoroaster there. We read: (Naval Keshore's Text I, p. 180, l. et seq).

ستایش او در محیلس گشتاسپ تکرار یافت و گشتاسپ غبت بصحبت زردشت نمود ه ملاقات او را غنیمت بزرگ داشتر و از حدود بلخ باعد و عیدی تمام روی بحجانب وی نهاد و چون کار از غیب بحضور مذهبر شد گشتاسپ بسعی تمام پسر خود اسفندیار را بکیش محبوس درآورد و در اطراف ممالک آتشکدها بنیاد نهاد و فرمود تا دوازد ه بزار پوست گاو را دباغت و آنها را مانند پوست آبو تنگ شاختند مزخرفات مقبول و نتاییج طبع نامستقیم زردشت ار بزر و سیم مصلول بر آن اوراق کر سزاوار احراق بود ثبت نمودند و چون گشتاسپ باصطخر آمد حکم کرد تا دخمر ساختند و کتاب ژند را بتعظیم برچر تمام تر در آنجا نهادند

Translation.—His (Zardusht's) fame came to be talked of in the court of Gushtâsp. Gushtâsp, showing a desire for the intercourse of Zerdusht, (and) attaching great importance (?) to an interview with him, went to him (lit. placed his face in his direction) from the limits of Balkh with a large number and with all

الأميلة (talâmiz) or عَلَمَا (talâmizat) or مَا (talâmiz) disciples.

² I follow Naval Keshore's Text, Vol. I, pp. 179, last line et seq.

solemnity (aidi). When the work came from mystery to the publicity of soundness¹ (i.e. when what was hidden became known i.e. when he learnt the teachings of Zoroaster), Gushtâsp brought with all efforts his son Isfandyar into the religion of the Mâgis,² and, founded fire-temples all around in his territories and ordered that 12,000 cow-hides may be tanned³ and turned and thinned like the hide of the deer; and idle tales (muzakhrafât) which were accepted, and conclusions (natâyaj, pl. of natijah) of unsound (nâmustaqim) nature of Zoroaster, which were fit for being burned (ihrâq) were written in dissolved (mahlâl or legalized) in (ink of) gold and silver on the leaves (of these hides).......When Gushtâsp came to Istakhar, he ordered that a vault (dokhmê) may be made and the book of Zend may be placed in it with all honour.

In his account of Zoroaster, Mirkhond represents the Prophet as coming down to the plains from the mountain of Ardabil. We read:

در بماندم کر زردشت متولد گشت بهخندید چنانچر تمام حضار آواز اورا شنیدند و چون بزرگ شد بهجبلی از جبال آردبیل بالا رفت و ازانها فرو آمد و کتابی بر دست و میگفت کر این کتاب از سقف خانر کر برین کوه واقع است نازل شد و آن نسخر را زند نام نهاد (4)

Translation.—At the very moment when Zardusht was born, he laughed, so much so, that all, who were present, heard his voice, and, when he came to age, he went up a mountain out of the mountains of Ardabil; and he came down from that place and (with) a book in his hand, and said: 'This book has descended from the roof of the house which is situated on this mountain and he gave that book the name of Zend.'

^{1 &}quot;Munjabir," restored to soundness (Steingass).

² Shea, in his translation (History of the Early Kings of Persia, p. 285) makes Islandyâr, the agent to bring Gushtâsp to the faith of Zoroaster. He translates: "Gushtâsp afterwards, through the exertions of his son Essendiâr, came over to the religion of the Magi." He seems to have followed a different text.

³ Dibâghat, tanning.

⁴ Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, Vol. I, p. 180, l. 12. Vide Shea's History of the Early Kings of Persia translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond entitled the Rauzat-us Safa, p. 286.

According to Yaqout, ¹ there was a town of the name of Ardabil, near the mountain. It was a chief place of Azerbaijân before the advent of Islamism. According to other writers, ² it was founded by Kai-Khusru at the foot of the mountain of Silân on the side of which stood a fortress called Behman-diz or Rouyin-diz. It was the capture of this fortress which Kai Kaus proposed that Fariburz and Kai-Khusru should make. The one who captured it was promised the kingdom of Irân in inheritance. Kai-Khosru conquered it.³ This mountain Silân of Yaquot is the same as Mount Savalan or Sabilan near Ardabil, the mountain of Zoroaster's conferences with Ahura Mazda. According to Kazwini also, Ardabil stands at the foot of Mount Sebilan.

We thus see from Mirkhond that he placed the birth-place of Zoroaster in the West, in Azerbaijan. He represents the prophet as coming down from the mountain of Ardabil after receiving his revelation from God.

If we sum up the statements of the above writers, we find well-known Mahomedan writers, like Hamza Summary. Isfahani, Maçoudi, Sharastâni, Yaqout, Abulfeda and Mirkhond, place the Home of Zoroaster in Azerbaijan. Tabari places him in the West and mentions Azerbaijan as his place of preaching. Hamd-Alla Mustaufi does not directly name any country but he points to the West as Zoroaster's country. He represents Irâq in the West, also as a place of the early activity of Gushtasp.4 Of all the above writers, Yaqout is very important, because, he not only places him in Azerbaijan, but directly points to Urumiah in A zerbaijan as his birth-place. Again, he associates three other places in Azerbaijan with Zoroaster. These are (a) Ustunawend (أستوناونه) which is the same name as Asnavant of the Avesta; (b) Shiz, supposed by some to have been an abbreviated and changed form of Chaêchasta; and (c) Mah-dinar (also known as Din-i Zardasht). Thus, we see that all the Mahomedan writers speak of the West as Zoroaster's country. Seven of them distinctly

¹ Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 21.

² Ibid. Foot-note 1.

³ Mohl. Tome II, p. 549. The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulûb composed by Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi of Qazvin (1340), translated by G. Le Strange (1919), p. 84.

⁴ The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulûb of Hamd-Allah Mustawsi of Qazvin (340 A. C.), Text by G. Le Strange, pp. 79 and 122, Tanslation, pp. 73 and 94.

speak of Åzerbaijan as his country, and one of them, Yaqout, distinctly speaks of Urumiah in Åzerbaijan as his birth-place, and even associates other places in Azerbaijan with his name. I will finish this section by speaking of some other less important later Mahomedan writers, some of whom are referred to in the Sharastan-i Chehar Chaman.

شارستان چهار چهن) In the Shârastân-i Chehâr Chaman

i Mahomedan authors referred to in the Shârastân-i Chehâr Chaman. lit. a city of four gardens), written by Behram bin Farhad Aspandyâr Farsi (بهرام بن فرباد اسپندیار فارسی) 1, we have a long reference to Zoroaster, in the account

of the reign of Gushtasp.

The author flourished in India in the time of Emperor Jehangir. He is said to have been a disciple of Dastur Âzar Kaêvân.² The author of the Shârastân refers to some previous Mahomedan writers who had referred to Zoroaster and refutes their misstatements. Among the books of these previous writers, he refers to Tazkarat al avâm (دُفْكُو ۚ العوام) written by Mir Murtaza Elam ul Hada (مير مرتضي علم الهوي) who was a bigoted Mahomedan writer and who found fault with Gushtâsp

¹ Manuscript of the Mulla Feroze Library (Catalogue of Rehatzek VIII, 56, p. 204), folio 2a.l. 13. The Mulla Feroze Library has a manuscript translation of this book in Gujarâti from the pen of Dastur Edalji Sanjana. The Ms. was presented to the Library by Mr. Jamshedji Bomanji Wadia in 1914. It is not an exact translation, but a free version with the translator's own comments here and there.

² Dastur Âzar Kaêvân bin Âzar Gushasp was a learned Zoroastrian priest of Persia. He had a sufeistic bent of mind. He seems to have been attracted to India by the eclectic school of thinkers founded by Akbar. For his lineage, traced from the early Peshdadians, vide the Dabistân (Shea and Troyer's Translation. Vol. I, pp. 87-88, 2nd section, describing the Sîpâsiân sect, of Chap. I on the Religion of the Pârsiân). He had come to India from Persia with a number of disciples, among whom one was Ferzanah Behram the son of Farhâd, the author of the Sharistân (Ibid, p. 77). He had 12 disciples from Persia and he made many disciples in India. He lived in Patna and died there at the age of \$5 in 1673 A.C. (Ibid p. 89). For an account of his life in the Persian Text, vide pp. 29 et seq. of the Bombay edition of 1262 Hijri. For some particulars about Farzanah Behram, the author of Sharistân-i Chehar Chaman, vide Shea and Troyer's Translation of the Dabistân, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

³ Ms. of the Mulla Feroze Library f. 55b, l. 14. Bombay Lithographed edition of Hijri 1327, p. 154, l. 10.

for following the religion of Zartusht. He refers to another Mahomedan author Tabasar ul awam (تَبِصر الْعُوام), na saying that Zardusht, the prophet of the Magis, was from Azerbaijin (المحددة الله عصوس الراقة المحددة على عصوس الراقة المحددة على عصوس الراقة المحددة المحددة على عصوس الراقة المحددة المحددة على عصوس الراقة المحددة الم

The author refutes this statement about Jeremiah and then refers to the spread of the new religion at the hands of Gushtasp and to the writing of Zend Avesta on 12000 golden leaves, &c. He then refers to 24,000 Fire-temples founded by Gushtasp and says, that out of all these, the two best were those of Pars and Azerbaijan in the province of Maraghé

i.c. The best of the Fire-temples—the Fire-temples of Pars and Azerbaijân—were founded within the limits of Marâghé which is one of the oldest cities of that district.

¹ Ibid, f. 55b, l. 16.

² Ibid 1, 17. Bombay Ed., p. 154, l. 18.

³ Ibid, l. 18. 4 Ibid, f. 56a, l. S Ibid. 5 Bombay Ed., p. 155.

⁶ Ibid, f. 56a, last line, to f. 56b. l. l. Bombay Ed., p. 156, l. 7.

⁷ Ibid, f. 56b, ll. 13-14. Bombay Ed. (p. 157, l. 8) varies a little in the Text.

S Dastur Edalji Sanjana, in his above-mentioned Gujarati version gives the name of Maraghé as Morae (बाराइन) f. 238b, last line. This must be an error in the Ms. from which he translated. Maraghé is still known as an important part of the present Persian Azerbaijan.

The author of the Sharastân-i Chahâr Chaman then refers to a Mahomedan author named Mir Mokhtar (مير مختار) and gives the meaning of the word Âzerbaijân as "the fire (آذر) which gives life (حيات بخش) "

As to the Fire-temple of Pars, he says that no other Firetemple in Persia was held in such reverence and respect as this. It continued so till the time of the Arabs, who destroyed it.¹

جمیشر سر بزار نفر مغ خدمت می نمودند تا در زمان آمدن لشکر عرب آن آنشکد، بسعی عبدالله عمر خراب شد

Translation.—Three thousand Magi persons (i.e., Mobads) always served (at the Fire-temple), till the time of the coming of the army of the Arabs when this fire-temple was descerated at the instance of Abdulla Omar.

The author of the Sharistân, while speaking on *riâzat* in his account of King Gushtâsp, quotes Mirkhond and other writers. His account in some parts seems to have been copied verbatim from Mirkhond. He says:³

در بعضی کتب تازی بر پارسی آمینختر در معجم الآثار و روضةالصفا آورده کر زردشت در علم حکمت مهارتی تمام داشت در مبداء حال بصحبت تلامذه ارمیا پیغمبر میدانستردر حدود آذرآبادگان جمعی کثیر بدو گردیدند

Translation.—It is said in several books (written) in Arabic mixed with Persian (c.g.), in Mu'ajam al Asâr and Rauzat-us-

As said by Prof. Jackson (Persia Past and Present, p. 61), they speak of "a subterranean chamber near Maragha, with a fire altar, as attributed to his (Zoroaster's) worship." According to Ibn Haukal Maragha (acl) is at a distance of three farsangs (i.e., about 10 miles) from lake Urumiah (The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal by Sir W. Ousley, p. 162). According to Hamd-Allah Mustawfi, the people of Maragha spoke "Arabicised Pahlavi," i.e., Pahlavi mixed with Arabic (Pahlavi min' arrab. Nuzhat-Al Quldb of Hamd-Allah Mustaufi of Qazwin by G. Le Strange, Text p. 87, 1, 9. Ibid Translation, p. 88).

Mulla Feroze Library Text f. 56b., last line. Dastur Edalji Sanjana's Ms. translation, f. 238b, f. 238b., Bombay Ed., p. 157, l.

² Ibid.

safa that Zardusht possessed much skill in the learning of philosophy. In the beginning, he was into the companionship (and) pupilage of Prophet Irmiah (Jeremiah) Many people within the limits of Azarbadgan were inclined towards him.

The Sharistân-i Chehar Chaman then says, that Gushtâsp, hearing of the fame of Zardusht, went to him from Balkh, and, through the exertion of Asfandiar, entered into his religion and got his teachings written on 12000 cow skins.1 He does not give in his account the name of Istakhar, which Mirkhond gives as the city where the King and the Prophet met and where the writings were deposited, but gives instead, the word an magr which means "Seat of Government." 2

The above statement of Zoroaster being a pupil of Jeremia is given in the Sharistan-i Chehar Chaman, on the authority of a writer named Mir and Zoroaster in (میر منتقار طهرانی) Mokhtar of Tehran Joremiah. (مخزى الاخبار) 3. But the author his Makhzan al Akhbâr. himself refutes the story. He says:

در متخزن الاخبار كر از تصانيف مير متختار طهراني است آورده کر زردشت در مصر در صحبت ارمیا پیغمبر گذرانیدی جمیع علوم را ازان پیغمبر برحق یاد گرفتر بود کمال حاصل کرده خصوص در علوم غریبر چون کیمیا ولیمیا کر صاحب قدرت بود چون بدیار آذر بایگان آمد چندگاه بسر برد بعد ازان خود را بماازمت شهریار زمان گشتاسپ رسانید

Translation.—It is said in the Makhzan al Akhbar which is (one) of the writings of Mir Mokhtar, that Zardusht lived in Egypt in the company of the prophet Irmiah (Jeremiah). Ho had learnt properly many sciences from that prophet. He had acquired (their knowledge) well. He was especially well-versed in the rare sciences of alchemy and (limya). When he came to

¹ Ibid, p. 161, ll. 11-14. 2 Bombay Ed., p. 161, last line.

شارستان چهار چون Ms. of the Mulla Foroz Library f. 56a last line. Vide the Gujarati Ms. of the version of the book by Dastur Edalji Sanjana in the Mulla Feroze Library f. 235a. Bombay Ed. op. cit., p. 156, l. 6.

the country of Azerbaijan, he passed there some time, and then, he placed himself under the services of the king of the time, Gushtasp.

Mir Mokhtar is then reported to say that it was by this knowledge of the rare sciences of Alchemy, &c., that he performed miracles in the court of Gushtasp and won him over to his new religion. Behram Farhad, the writer of the Sharistan-i Chehar Chaman, refutes these statements at some length.

Tabari also, as said above, refers to this story of Zoroaster's association with Aziz, which was a tittle of Jeremiah, and says that he learnt from him Magic and Poetry. According to Prof. Jackson, "The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar Ebhrâyâ (about A.D. 1250) in his Arabic Chronicon, p. 83 (ed. Salhani Beirut, 1890) says that he was a disciple of Elijah." Prof. Jackson refers to the story, and explains how it may have arisen. He says: "Two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and that he came from that land to Adarbaijân; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, Armiah (مراحية) with Zoroaster's supposed native place, Urumiah, Urmiah (مراحية).

The Persian Dabistân, whose author ⁴ lived from about 1615
2. Dabistân. to 1670, says that, according to general beIts authority of a lief, Zoroaster came from Azerbaijân. We read:

درمیان مردم مشهور است کر زردشت اذرآبادگانی است اما غیر بر دینیان گویند و نامر نکار از موبد تررو کر نوساوری من اعمال گجرات وطن اوست شنیده کر مواد زرتشت و آبادی نام دارش شهر ریست 5

¹ Tabari par Zotenberg, I. p. 499.

² Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 201.

³ Ibid, pp. 197-98.

⁴ Mohsan Fani was said to be the author of this book. Vide for the question of the authorship and for the author's time, the Dabistan translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer (1843), Vol. I, Preliminary Discourse by Troyer pp. X-XV.

⁵ Bombay Edition of 1264 Hijri, p. 86, l, 4.

Translation.—It is well known among men, that Zardusht is an Azarâbâdgâni (i.e., an inhabitant of Azarbâdgân). But the non-Behdins (i.e., non-Zoroastrians) say—and the writer of (this) book has heard from Mobad Tarrav whose native place is Naosaori (Naosari) in the Government of Gujarât—that the birth-place of Zartusht and the habitation (âbâdi) of his illustrious forefathers (nâm-dârash)¹ is the city of Rai.

Shea and Troyer's translation runs as follows:3

"It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Azarbadgân or Tabruz³; but those who are not *Behdinians* or 'true believers', assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busâwâri, in Gujarât, that the birth-place and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Rai."

We find from this translation, that the text of the Dabistan which Shea and Troyer have followed, gives the name of the Gujarât town نوساوری Naosaori (Naosari) as Busawari برساوری This reading takes the *unkteh* to be below the word, instead of above the word, as given in the Bombay edition which I have followed. In the Bombay edition, the first letter of the name of the town is clearly on nun. There is no town in Guzarât of the name Busâwari. So, evidently, the name is miswritten in the edition followed by the above translators.

Again, the name of the informant given as in, both, in these translators' edition and in the Bombay edition which I have followed, is not a familiar name. It does not seem to be the name of a Parsee Mobad or priest. So, taking the town to be Naosaori, as given in the Bombay edition, the name seems to have been miswritten for edition, which is a Parsee name. The same word, read as Torro, can, with a change in the nuktehs, be read as Burzo.

¹ Nam-dar may mean, those bearing the name of Zartusht, i.e., his successors, known latterly as Zarathushtro-temas. Or the phrase, "âbâdi nâmdârsh", may mean "illustrious posterity". The word âbâdi, i.e., "prosperity" means "prosperity of progeny".

² The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. 263.

³ The above quoted Bombay edition does not give this name. Perhaps this name is Tabriz, the modern capital of Azerbaijân.

^{4 &}quot;Rai is the most northern town of the province Jebal or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians" (Anthony Troyer. The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, p. 204, n. 1.)

Now, the time when Mohsan Fani, flourished is about 1615 to 1670,—the time of the reigns of Jehangir (1605-27), Shah Jehan (1627-66) and Aurangzeb (1666-1707). So, it seems that the person Barzo may be the well-known compiler of the Persian Rivâyat, known as the Rivâyat of Barzo Kamdin, who lived at this time.¹ We learn from various Parsee sources that his name occurred either as a signatory or as a person addressed, in various documents bearing dates of years 1626, 1627, 1649, 1670.² So, it seems to be evident that the Barzo of Naosaori, mentioned in the Dabistan, is the well-known Barzo Kamdin who flourished from about the beginning of the 17th century up to some time after 1670 A.C. We thus see that the author of the Dabistan, says, on the authority of others, and among them of Barzo (Kamdin) of Naosari, that the birthplace of Zoroaster was Raê in Âzerbaijân.

A badly written manuscript of the Dabistan seems to have misled, as we will see below, a later writer, as it did in misleading Shea and Troyer to take the name of a town in Guzarat as Busâwâri instead of Naosâri.

3. Nameh-i Farazastan. Its reference to Naosari as the birth place of Zoroaster In a recent work on the ancient history of Persia, entitled Nameh-i Farâzastân (ناصر فرازستان), we read (on p. 234, 1.5 et seq) as follows:

چو زراتشت در پورساوری از شهربای گنجرات بهجهان هستی خرامید در آغاز زادن خندید چذانتچر مسایکان آوا خندهٔ اورا شنیدند

¹ After writing the above, I find with pleasure that I am preceded in this view by Prof. Shapurshaw Hormusji Hodiwala who has suggested the name in his learned work "Studies in Parsee History", published in 1920 (p. 93).

² Vide Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12, 14 and 16.

³ From faráz, before. Like the word Bâstân, the word Farâzastân seems to mean "old, ancient." So, the name Nâmeh-i Farâzastân seems to be the same as Bâstân-nâmeh i.c. The History of the Ancients. It appears from the preceding foreword, that the late Mr. Maneckji Limji Hataria, who had lived long in Persia, as the Agent of the Bombay Parsees, to look after the welfare of the Zoroastrians of Persia, had requested a learned person of Persia, named Mirza Ismail Khan, to write a History of the ancient Persians. It was written as desired, but, both, Mr. M. L. Hataria and the author died without seeing it published. So, Mr. Hormazdyâr bin Behrâm Bahman Jamshed got it published at Bombay on roz Hormazd, mah Aban 1252.

Translation.—When Zaratusht walked (into) existence (i.e. appeared in this world), in (the city of) Pursacari, (one) of the cities of Guzarat, he laughed at the commencement on birth, to such an extent, that the people in the neighbourhood heard the voice of his laughing.

Thus, this book speaks of Guzarat as the country of Zoronster. Now, there is no town in Guzarat of the name of Pūrsāoari (پررساوری). So, as in the case of the name in the edition of the Dabistan followed by its translators Shea and Troyer, here also, the name is misspelt and misread. It is Naosāoari (Naosari). So, taking the name of the town as Naosaoari or Naosari, we find that this book says that Zoroaster was born in the town of Naosari in Guzarat.

One may find it astounding to learn that even Gujarat in India is referred to by a writer as the birthplace of Zoroaster and he may find it difficult to account for this astonishing statement. But, I think, we are in a position to see how such a statement has come to be made. It is the Dabistân passage, above referred to, that seems to have led the writer to make this astounding statement.

- (a) First of all, the name of the city seems to have been miswritten in various manuscripts of the Dabistân. The Ms., which Shea and Troyer used, gives as said above, the name as Baosâori (بوساوري). The lithographed copy, which I possess, gives the name somewhat correctly as Naosaori (نوساوري). To be more correct, the second wâv (علم) is not necessary. It seems, that the writer of this recent book, either had, in his manuscript, the word with the first letter marked with three nuktehs below, instead of one of Shea and Troyer's Ms., and instead of one nukteh above as in the Ms. of the lithographed text which I have followed: and so, he read the word as Pursawari; or, he, by mistake misread the word.
 - (b) Secondly, as to his making the city of Guzarat—whether it be Baosâoari, or Naosâoari or Pûrsâori, the birth-place of Zoroaster, I think, that he misread the last two words, which are Shehr i Rai ast) as شهرویست Shehr ast i.c. is the city. I confess, that I myself at first found it a little difficult to read the words, and, had it not been for Shea and Troyer's translation, perhaps, I also would have been misled in some other way. A good copyist would separate

the last word as رئ است (Raê ast). So, I think, the writer of the Nâmeh-i Farâzastân, while trying to draw his information from the Dabistân, was misled by not finding the name of the city of Raê given separately in his copy of the Dabistân, and he mixed up what was said about Raê as Zoroaster's birth-place with Naosari, a city of Guzarat.

A. A Porsian Dictionary Kashf-ul-Lughât.

Kashf-ul-laghât (کشف اللغات) as saying, that Zoroaster was an Âzerbaijani, i.e. an inhabitant of Âzer-baijân. It says:

i.e. "It is said that Zoroaster of Âzerbaijân was the master of an acceptable religion."

The most recent Mahomedan writer on the History of ancient Persia is Mirza Abbas bin Mahmadali Shus-

5. Iran-nameh. tari, who has published in 1925, the first volume of his work, entitled "Iran-nameh." 2

The author has, at first, followed the Pahlavi writings, like that of the Zâdsparam, and has represented Zoroaster, as coming to Balkh crossing the river Dâiti. Then he refers to the difference of opinions about the birth-place and says:

Translation.—It is possible that, there was a Zardusht in Balkh and two other personages of the same name had appeared in Azarâbâdgân and Raê.³

I refer to this most recent writer to give one an idea, how, up to now, attempts have been made to explain the variety of names, suggested as those of the birth place of the Prophet.

¹ Vendidåd, Vol. II, Glossarial Index, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp (1907) p. 39; vide the word "Ataropâdgån."

عیران نامه یا کارنامه ایرانیان باستان گرد آورد گیرزا عباس این عمصد علی شوستری سنه ۱۹۲۵

The author is Professor of Persian in the College of the Mahârâja of Mysore.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 65, ll. 4-5.

XII.

(G) ĀTAROPĀTAKAN OR ÁZERBAIJÁN. IN WHICH PART OF THIS COUNTRY DID ZOROASTER'S BIRTH TAKE PLACE? IN THE DISTRICT OF MOUNT ASNAVANT AND LAKE CHAÈCHÂSTA, THE MODERN URUMIAH.

In our inquiry, we have, so far, extended, as it were, our vision step by step from a small place to a large place—from the House of Pourushaspa to the province of Azerbaijan. But we have not as yet, been able to locate the house. To do so, we have now to narrow or reduce the field of our vision,—from a province to a town—to trace therein the birth-place of Zoroaster. We have not as yet pointed to any direct statement in reply to the question: "Where in Atâropâtakân or Azerbaijân was the house situated?

We have a statement in a Pahlavi book, which directly answers the question and names a town in Azarbaizan as Zoroaster's place. But, before coming to that book, we will prepare our way by examining a number of indirect statements or references which point to the district of Mt. Asnavant and Lake Chaêchast as the place of Zoroaster. So, I will first speak of Mount Asnavant and its connection with Zoroaster, and then of Lake Chaêchasta. I will speak in the following order:

- 1. Mount Asnavant.
- 2. Lake Chaêchasta.
- 3. The Relation between the two.

1. MOUNT ASNAVANT.

According to the Pahlavi books, the Dinkard and the Zadsparam,2 seven consult-Zoroaster had Mountains, seats of Zoroaster's Conations or conferences (ham-pursagih) with sultation with the seven Ameshâspands. According Higher Powers. Zâdsparam (Chap. XXII),3 the with Ahura Mazda was on the bank of first consultation

¹ Book VII, Chap. III, 46-60. West, S. B. E., XLVII, pp. 46-50.

² Chap. XXII. West, S. B. E., *Ibid.*, pp. 159-62.

³ Vichitakihâ-i Zâtsparam, by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 85, Ch ap. XXIII.

the river Daiti (שני ב שני ב שני ב שני); the second with Vohuman on the mountain of Hûgar () and Ausind (3)01); the third with Arta Vahishta on Tojan water (Uf 1491); the fourth with Shatvir (Shehrivar at Sarâi (مدلس), which is a town on Mivân (۱۳۶۶); the fifth with Spendomat on a spring (khûnîk) which come out from Mount Asnavad (3); the sixth with Khordad at the Asnavad mountain; and the seventh with Amerdad on the high ground of Darêja () on the bank of the Daitya (שני נשני ב שני ב שישוי). All the places named here are in Âtarôpâtakân. I think that the Mountain Ausind (3) mentioned above, in the account of the second conference, viz., that with Vohumano, may also be a miswritten form of Asnavant.

In the above statement, a mountain named Asnavant is one of

the places, where Zoroaster had his converse, his consultation (ham-pursagih), his conference with Ahura Mazda and His Ameshâ-Spentas. In the examination of this question, the Pahlavi books are more useful than

the Avesta. However, we will, (A) at first, see, what the Avesta books say of Mount Asnavant and (B) then, we will examine the Pahlavi books.

^{1.} Mount Asnavant, the seat of Zoroaster's consultations with the Higher Powers.

(A) MT. ASNAVANT IN THE AVESTA.

We have the mention of Mount Asnavant (ממלעונעשאַא)
in the Avesta in the following four places:

- (a) The Zamyad Yasht.
- (b & c) The Greater and the Smaller Sirouzâhs.
- (d) The Âtash Niyâish.

Mt. Asnavant is mentioned in the list of mountains in the

(a) The Zamyâd Yasht. This Yasht consists of two
Yasht. Mountains and Kharênangh.

subjects: (1) The list of the mountains of the then known Iranian world and (2) The

Kharenangh.

1. It is said that there are 2,244 mountains. We read at the end of the list (Yt. XIX 7)

તેન ભાગ માણ્યા તાલુકાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના જ્યાં કર્યા કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલ્લાના કલાવના કલાવન

Translation.—O Spitama Zarathushtra! there are thus two thousand two hundred and forty and four mountains.

In the Pahlavi Bundehesh (XII, 2) these 2,244 mountains are said to form one range of mountains—the Elbourz, the Hara Berezaiti of the Avesta. We read:

¹ Justi's Bundehesh p. 21, l. 16. Vide my Text and Translation of the Bundehesh in Gujarati, pp. 36-37. Grand Bundehesh of T. D. Anklesaria, p. 76, l. 11. Windischmann, p. 21, l. 15. M. R. Unwala's Lithographed ed. p. 25, l. 11.

i.c., There have grown up other mountains from the Elbourz, numbering two thousand two hundred and forty-four.

Out of these 2,244 mountains, the Zamyâd Yasht names about 52 principal ones. It seems, that the first Meridian of the Iranians passed through Mount Taêra which stands 48th in the

list. It is said to have ISO raozin (1955) i.e., windows or apertures, corresponding to our "degrees" on both sides. In this list of 52 mountains referred to by name, one is Asnavant. It is 36th in the list.

2. The second subject treated by the Zamyad Yasht, after the enumeration of the mountains, is Kharê-The Kharênangh. Its nangh, i.c. the Glory or Halo possessed by seat in Mountains, the great worthies of Iran. The Iranian Kharénangh has, like the Iranian Fravashi or Farohar, a peculiar signification. While the Fravashi is possessed by all living beings, from Ahura Mazda down to the vegetable world, the Kharénangh is possessed only by men and the Higher Powers. Even Ahura Mazda and his Immortal Ameshaspands have their Kharénangh. The Kharénangh of Ahura Mazda is like the "Gloria in Excelcis" or Glory to God in the Highest, of St. Luke (II. 14). All men have a kind of Kharénangh, halo or glory, but the great men of a country have a peculiar brilliant Kharénangh. It is the halo painted round the faces of prophets, seers and other great men by the artists. I think that the following words of Prof. Darmesteter give a good idea of the Iranian Kharénangh: "Le Hvarenô.....est le principe céleste qui donne à celui qui en est investi la puissance, la virtu, la génie, le bonheur : c'est la fortune divine. C'est par lui que les rois sont rois: quand un roi est renversé, c'est que le Hvarenô l'a abandonné." 3

Now, the reason, why the *Kharénangh* or Glory of the great men of Iran is associated with mountains in the Zamyâd Yasht, seems to be threefold:

¹ Vide my Gujarâti Essay on the "Geography of the Avesta" in my અવરતા જમાતાની ધર સંસારી છેંદગી, ભૂગાળ અને એક્સારનામું, p. 177.

² For some accounts of these mountains, vide my Gujartai Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names. Vide p. 93 for Taêra and p. 21 for Asnavant.

³ Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 615. i.c. The Khareno is the source which gives to him who is invested with it, power, virtue, genius, good fortune; it is divine fortune. It is by it that the kings are kings: when a king is overthrown, it is because the Khareno has abandoned him.

- (1) The Kharénangh or Glory or Halo is a kind of Divine Light. The Sun is the source of all Light, and poets and great writers among various nations have associated the sun with mountains. The sun, rising from the summits of mountains, gives, as it were, the idea of the mountains being the seat of the Sun. The words, Kharénangh and khûr (Khurshed, Sun), come from the same root, khar Sans. To shine.
- (2) The Kharênangh, the halo is a divine gift; and divine thoughts are often associated with high mountains. There is, as it were, something, on the other side of mountains, above the mountains, which is unseen, something mysterious, which is associated with the idea of God. ¹
- (3) The Glory of Kings is allegorically associated with the Sun and with mountains. The Glory of the kingdom of Iran, the Glory of the Iranian king, is associated with mountains. Abu Fazal, in his Âin-i Akbari, speaks of Royalty as a ray of the Sun. ²

Now, after the list of the enumeration of mountains in the Zamyâd Yasht, there follows a list of the great worthics of Iran who, one after another, possessed, more or less, the Iranian Glory, the Glory of the country of Iran. Among the recipients of this *Kharênangh*, this Divine glory, one is Zarathushtra (Yt. XIX, 79). It was by virtue of its possession, that Zoroaster thought, spoke and acted in the matter of the promulgation of his new religion. We read:

Translation.—Which (Kayânian Kharénangh) associated itself with Holy Zarathushtra, whereby he thought according to

[&]quot;Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects" Part II, pp. 161-77.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Edition of the Ain-i Akbari, by Blochmann Vol. I p. 2. ll. 22-23.

Daêna (i.c. according to thoughts suggested by Religion), he spoke according to Daêna, he acted according to Daêna. Thereby he was, in the whole of the corporeal world, the Holiest in Holiness.

Thus, in the Zamyad Yasht, we find Zoroaster as one who had acquired Divine Glory, the seat of which was, as it were, in the mountains. Among these mountains, one was Asnavant.

In the Siroza Yasht (I. 9; II, 9), with the invocation of the

(b) The smaller and (c) the larger Sirouza and (d) Atash Nyhish,

Holy Fire are associated the invocations of Mt. Asnavant, Lake Chaêchasta and the Kayânian Kharênangh, referred to above. This association of ideas, suggest (a) the association of the Divine Glory, acquired, among others, by Zarathushtra with Mt. Asnavant and (b) the association of the mountain with a lake named Chaêchasta.

But, after all, these are, as it were, distant suggestive references. In the Avesta there is no direct connection of Zoronster with Mt. Asnavant. But the Pahlavi books point to this direct connection.

(B) MOUNT ASNAVANT IN PAHLAVI BOOKS.

In some Pahlavi books, we find a closer association of Zoroaster with Mt, Asnavant. We find direct references to the fact, that Mt. Asnavant was the seat of some of Zoroaster's consultations (hampûrsagih) or conferences with the Higher Powers.

We find Mt. Asnavant referred to three times in the Bun. dehesh: (a) It is first referred to in a long 1. The Bundelist of the mountains in the chapter on the hesh. "Nature of Mountains" (Chegunih-i Kufân,

Chap. XII). All the mountains are said to have grown up out of earth in 18 years (Chap. XII 1. Cf. pavan hasht-deh shant hamâk barâ kuf min zamik madam rûst humand. VIII 5), but the Elbourz took 800 years to grow up to perfection. (Albourz val bûndagih hasht sad shant hamâk rûst Chap. XII, 1) 2. Then the Bundehesh adds that 2,244 mountains form the long range of the Elbourz, and Asnavant is one of these.

¹ My Text and Translation in Gujarati of the Bundehesh, p. 32. West, S. B. E. Vol. V. Ch. VIII, 5 p. 30 Justi, p. 19, l. 15. Westergaard's Ed., p. 19, l. 5. Unvala's Lith. Ed. p. 22, l. 14.

² Ibid p. 36. Justi's Ed., p. 21, l. 12. West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 34, Westergaard, p. 21, l. 11. Unvala's Lith. Ed., p. 25, l. 8,

(b) Then, as to its situation, the Bundehesh says that it is in Azerbaijan. We read:

मन्त्रधाल ।। ।। ।।। ।।।

i.e. Mt. Asnavand (is) in Atarôpâtakân.

(c) Then, in the chapter on Fire (Chap. XVII, 7) Mt. Asnavant is spoken of as the seat of the Sacred Fire of Azar Gushâsp, founded by king Kai-khosru, when he was destroying idolworship on the banks of lake Chaêchasta. We read:

The state of the sold of the state of the sold of the

Translation.—Âtar Gushâsp was thus protecting the world up to the time of the sovereignty of Kaikhusro. When Kaikhusro destroyed (lit. dug out) the idol-houses on lake Chaechasta.....at the very same place, on the Asnavand mountain, he put up the Fire Gushâsp in its proper place.

These passages of the Bundehesh are very important for two reasons. (1) Firstly, the first passage points to Azerbaijan as the place of Mt. Asnavant. (2) Secondly, the second passage associates Mount Asnavand with lake Chaêchasta. We saw above, that the Avesta (Sirozah and Atash Nyaish) also pointed to such an association.

The Pahlavi book, which comes to our help in directly associating Zoroaster with Mt. Asnavant, is the Zâdsparam. The first eleven chapters of the book are, as said by Dr. West,³ something like a paraphrase of most of the first 17 chapters of the

¹ Justi's Bundehesh, p. 24, l. 2.

² Justi's Bundebesh, p. 41, ll. 13-18.

³ S. B. E. Vol. V. Introduction, p. XLVIII.

Bundehesh, but the second part (Chap. XII-XXIII) forms, like the seventh book of the Dinkard, the Pahlavi Zarthushtnameh. In this part, we find two references to Mt. Asnavant in Chapter XXII which bears the heading,

i.c. "On seven consultations² about religious matters,³ with seven Ameshâspands (which) took place at seven places.

In this chapter, we have an account of Zoroaster's consultations or conferences with the seven Ameshâspands at different places. Out of these conferences, two, the fifth and the sixth, with Spendârmad and Khordâd, are at Mt. Asnavant.

(a) As to the fifth conference, that with Spendârmad, I have given the original passage above (sec. VII). So, I will give here again only the translation: We read:

"For the fifth questioning (or conference parashna), which was with Spendomad, the spirits (mînô) of the regions and quarters and stations and towns (rutastâkân) and villages (matâan), as many as required, went with Zarthusht to the consultation (liam-pursagih) at the place...... where there is a spring (khâni) which comes from the Asnavad mountain and goes to the Dâiti."

(b) As to the sixth conference with Khordad, the passage runs thus: 4

अने हे जा त्राहे हाजा त आकिर्ध हिला त्रिक नेवा त्राहे हाजा है सेवात्तर केवा

¹ Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâdsparam, by Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 85, ll. 3-4

² Prashnoih, lit. Questioning.

³ Andaz, opinion.

⁴ Vichitakiba-i Zadsparam, edited by B. T. Anklesaria, p. SS, II. 6-S.

Translation.—For the sixth questioning, which was with Khordad, the Spirit of the sea and rivers had gone with Zarthust to the consultation on the Asnavad mountain.

These two passages are very important. They directly associate Mt. Asnavant with Zoroaster, as one of the places of his Divine meditation, his converse with the Higher Powers, who inspired him and who revealed to him his new religion. Again, one of these passages associates the river Dâiti, which, as we saw above, both, on the authority of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, flowed in the home-land of Zarathushtra, with Mt. Asnavant.

Thus then, we learn from the indirect references in the Avesta and the direct references of the Pahlavi Zādsparam, that the house of Zoroaster was in that part of Azerbaijān where stood Mt. Asnavant from which flowed an affluent of the Dāiti. The affluent may be the Darêja.

(c) There is a third reference also in the early part of the Zâdsparam. It does not directly associate Mt. Asnavand with Zoroaster, but it associates it with the Fire Gushâsp, established by Kaikhosru (on lake Chaechasta). It also places the mountain in Âzerbaijân. We read:

i.e. The Fire Gushasp (is) on Mt. Asnavant which is in Atarôpâtakân.

This passage is important in this, that it associates Mt. Asnavant, which the writer places in Azerbaijan, with the Firo Gushasp, which, we know was established by king Kaikhosru on lake Chaêchasta.

We have seen so far, that Zoroaster's very carly life, before he promulgated his religion, was spent in the vicinity of Asnavant mountain which is in Âzerbaijân. But much of our work would be made easy if we could distinctly identify Mt. Asnavant with any known mountain of Persia. Geographical names so often change their forms while coming down from age to age, that, at times, it is difficult to identify ancient places. But this mountain is associated in the Avesta (Sirozâ Yasht s. 9. Âtash Nyâish &c.) with lake Chaêchasta and with King

¹ Ibid, p. 42, ll. 13-14. Its Chap. IV. 85.

Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru). This lake was a place of prayers for Iranian kings and personages even before Zoroaster. So, let us proceed to determine further the question of the site of Mt. Asnavant with the help of this fact of its association with Chaêchasta. We will, therefore, see what is said of Chaêchasta in our Books.

(2) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA.

I will examine what is said of it (A) first in the Avesta books and then (B) in the Pahlavi books.

(A) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA IN THE AVESTA.

Lake Chaêchasta (אמטעקנעטש) or Chaêchista (אמטעקנעטש) is mentioned several times in the Avesta. It is mentioned as the place of the prayers of some great men of Iran.

(a) Haoma, a pious person, living on its shores, prays to Dravâsp, for the boon of being able to capture Frangrasiâna (Afrâsiâb), in order to hand him over to Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru), to be punished by him for his having murdered Siâvakhsh, the father of Kaikhosru. Haoma's prayer runs thus (Gosh Yasht, Yt. IX 18):

નિત્રિક વ્યલ્ભાવન વિભાગમાં કુર્યું કુર્યા વિલ્ફાન્ટિક જ્યાનિક કુર્યા કુ

Translation.—I may bind Franghrasyâna, the wicked Tur so that Kava Husrava, the son, may punish him on the other side of Lake Chaêchasta, (which is) deep and broad-watered, in revenge for (the murder of his father) Siâvarshâna.

¹ Some Mss. give the word as would vide Westergaard Yt. V 49 n-2.

In this passage, the adjectives, deep (jafra) and broadwatered (urvyapa) applied to the lake, are significant. I will refer to them later on.

- (b) There is an exactly similar prayer of the same Haoma in the Ashi Yasht (Yt. XVII, 38).
- (c) We learn from the Aban Yasht (Yt. V 49-50), that King Kaikhosru prayed on this lake for victory against an enemy.
- (d) King Kaikhosru prayed on the shores of this lake for victory over Afrasiâb, in revenge for the murder of his father (Gosh Yasht, Yt. IX, 21).
- (c) We find Kaikhosru saying a similar prayer in the Ashi Yasht (Yt. XVII, 42).
- (f) But the passages most important for our purpose, as we will see later on, are the passages of the Sirouzâh Yasht, where this lake is associated, not only with Kaikhosru, but also with a mountain named Asnavant. We read (Siroza, 9).

செரிவர் குற்ற குற்ற திறிக்க கூறு குறிவர் குற்று குறிவர்கள் குறுவரியில் குறிவரு கூறிவர்கள் குறிவரியில் குறிவர்கள்

Translation.—We invoke the Asnavant mountain created by God. We invoke the lake Chaêchista created by God.

(g) Similar is the invocation in the beginning of the Atash Nyâish (s. 5.)

We thus see, that Asnavant mountain is closely related with Lake Chaêchista.

(B) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

This lake is referred to several times in the Pahlavi books.

The Dinkârd ¹ twice refers to the Lake Chaêchasta as the seat

1. The Dinkard, of idol-worship destroyed by Kaikhosru.

¹ Dastur Dorâbji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 15. Book VII, Introduction 39. West, S. B. E.; Vol. XLVII, p. 14. Bk. VII, Chap. I, 39. Madon's Ed., Vol II., p. 598. ll 20-21.

(a) २०११ ।र हण्यव्ये ए व्याप्ता प्राप्ता है प्रमुखा है

Translation.—The Glory reached Kaikhosru (the son) of Siâvkhsh.... and it joined (âyûkht) him in the destruction (makhituntan) and breakage of the idol-houses which were on the shores of the Lake Chaêchasta which formed a strange (seat of) falsehood (darujih).

(b) The Dinkard (Bk. IX, Chap. XXIII, 6) again speaks of Chaêchasta as the place of idols destroyed by Kaikhosru. It says that Soshyans held Kaikhosru in esteem for this work.

ا جماد حدمه معادد هرسده الم دمه وراد عما هرداما دومه حد مهی معادد الم اسر د در محمد معادما

Translation.—The raising in esteem by Soshyos of Kaikhosru on his destroying what were idol-temples on the shore of the Lake Chaêchasta and on his smiting the magician Frasiâv.

These passages are important in as much as they refer to the event of the establishment of the Fire Gushâsp referred to in the statements about Asnavand, given above.

- (a) In the seventh chapter (s. 14) of the Bundehesh, we have an account of some extraordinary phenomena. The Bundehesh are spoken of as
- ardab (P. الردب) i.e., conflict or attack. In this account, there is a reference to a great convulsion or phenomenon, lasting for three days, with powerful wind (vât), whereby three great seas and twenty-three small seas (tartâ zareh-i mas va bishto sé zareh-i kas) were formed. In addition to these, two sources (of water chashmé) were formed. One of these was the lake Chaêchasta and another Sôvbar.

¹ Ibid, Vol. XVII, p. 64, ll. 11 t seq. Bk. IX, Ch. XXII, 5. West. S. B. E., XXXVII, p. 225, Chap XXIII 5. Madon's Ed., Vol. II. p. 818, l. 6.

- (b) King Kaikhosru is spoken of as destroying idolatry on its shores and as founding the sacred fire, Adar Goshâsp, in its vicinity (Chap. XVII, 7). This passage of the Bundehesh explains the above Avesta passage of the Sirouzâ Yasht and the Atash Nyâish as to why, there, the lake and the king and the mountain Asnavant (said to be the seat of the sacred fire) are associated together.
- (c) The lake is said to be 50 farsangs distant from the lake Husrav, which is identified by some with lake Van (Chap. XXII, 8).
- (d) A range of mountains called Asparoj (() is spoken of as extending from lake Chaêchasta to the country of Pars (Chap. XII, 36). Dr. West takes this range to be the mountain range of Western Persia of which Mount Zagros of the Classical writers formed a part.
- (e) The Bundehesh thus speaks of this lake in its chapter on varhâ i.e., lakes (Chap. XXII, 2).1

Translation.—Chaêchasta is in Âtarôpâtakân. Its waters are warm², (rendering people) free from injury wherein no living thing (mandavamich) exists. Its source is connected with the sea Farakhôkant.

Thus, the 22nd chapter of the Bundehesh places this Chaechasta lake in Azerbaijan.

The Pahlavi Zadsparam (Chap. VI, 22) also refers to an extraordinary natural phenomenon referred to, as said above, in the Bundehesh, and says, that the lake was the result of that phenomenon. It adds that the lake is free from cold

¹ Justi's Ed. p. 55, l. 11. The chapters referred to here are those of West, S. B. E., Vol. V.

² Medicinal if we take word to be darman.

wind (la sarmô vâd) and on its shore (bâr) sits the victorious Fire Gushâsp¹. This para then gives us some further information viz., that the Sacred fire, Fire Gushâsp founded by Kaikhosru was founded on its shore.

The Bahman Yasht says: There are some, who (have said),² that Adargoshasp is on (the shore of) lake Chaêchasta which is deep and hot and has waters free from harm (shedâ).

(a) The Minokherad, referring to Idol worship, speaks of Kaikhosru as destroying idol temples on the shore of this lake. It adds that, had Kaikhosru not destroyed idol-houses

the work of the future apostles would have been very difficult.3

¹ West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 173. Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Text, Vichîtakihâ-i Zâdsparam, Chap. III, 24, p. 27, l. 2, n. 3.

² Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad's Zand-i Vohuman Yasht p. 14, 1. 9. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 218, Chap. III. 10.

³ T. D. Anklesaria's Edition with my Introduction, p. 19, l. 2; West S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 15, Chap. II, 95. Dastur Dorabji's Text, p. 9, l. 9. Andreas's Ed. p. 10, l. 2; West's Pazend-Sanscrit Ed., p. 8.

⁴ Ibid. p. 92, 1. 7. West, Chap. XXVII, 61. Andreas's Ed., p. 31, i. 11; Dastur Dorabji's Ed. p. 47, 1. 7.

Summary of about Chacchasta, we gather the following facts:

- 1. It was a place of prayers for Kig Kaikhosru and Haoma.
- 2. It was a place, in the sequestered parts of which King Frasiâv (Afrasiâb) had concealed himself for some time.
 - 3. It was situated in the vicinity of Mount Asnavant.
- 4. There was in it a seat of idol-worship which King Kai-khosru destroyed. That seat was a seat of strange falsehood (shakaft drujih.)
- 5. After destroying idol-worship from there, Kaikhosru founded the great Fire-temple of Adar-Gushasp.
- 6. The formation of the lake was due to some extraordinary phenomenon of Nature. The phenomenon was accompanied by high wind and lasted for three days. That great convulsion of nature led to the formation of three great seas and twenty-three small seas. Two big lakes were formed, one of which was this Chaêchasta.
- 7. It is 50 farsangs (about 150 to 200 miles) distant from lake Husrava, another big lake formed by the above-mentioned convulsion of nature.
 - 8. It is situated in Âtarôpatakân (Âzerbaijân.)
- 9. Its waters are (a) deep (b) medicinal, free (or giving freedom) from injury i.e., possessing some medicinal qualities, (c) permitting no animal life (d) and are connected by some subterranean channels with a great sea.

Now let us see, with what modern place this lake Chaê-chasta can be identified.

(3) IDENTITY OF CHARCHASTA WITH LAKE URUMTAH.

There are several evidences to show, that the Lake Chaê-Chaêchasta, the chasta of the Avesta and Pahlavi books is same as modern the same as the modern Lake Urumiâh. Lake Urumiâh.

The evidences are the following:—

- (1) Etymological evidence.
- 2) Evidence of Physical nature.
- (3) Direct Evidence from a known Mahomedan author.

I have, ere now, referred to this evidence in some of my pre-223 I. Etymological vious writings. I have first referred to Evidence. it in my Gujerâti Prize Essay on wqeal times), submitted on 1st September 1884.1 જમાનાની ભૂગાળ (The Geography of Avestaic

In Aban, Gosh and Ashi Yashts, 2 Lake Chaêchasta, is spoken of, as deep and with wide expanse of water (jafra urvyapa). Of the word urvyapa (ne first part uru is the same as uru in Urumiâh. Uru (()) Sans. उठ means wide. The second part ap (elu ,—velu) Sans. आप (lat. aqua, P. is water. The second part maya in Urumiâh is Semetic (406 in Pahlavi, to ma in Arabic) for water. In the Pahlavi Bundehesh, while speaking of the water of Lake Chaéchasta, this very word "maya" is used. The word urvydpa (in The later some mss. urvâpa) means wide or broad-watered. The later modern word "Urumiâh" is an exact rendering of the Avesta word urvyapa, which is an adjectival epithet of Chaêchasta. What was, at first, a qualifying adjective, has, latterly become a proper noun.

We have several instances of this kind i. e. of adjectives becoming proper nouns: (a) The first instance is not in the case of a place, but in that of a person. Khusro Kobâd (Chosroes I) had the word Anousheravân (afterwards contracted to Nousheravan), i.e., immortal-souled, applied to him as an adjectival epithet. But, among later Iranian writers, the word Nousheravân has become a proper noun and this king is spoken of generally as Nousheravân.

(b) In another name of this very lake, we seem to have another instance of an epithet of the lake giving the name to the lake itself. Maçoudi says of Lake Urumiâh: "It is situated

¹ Pide my " अवरेता लभानानी धर संसारी के हगी लगाण अने अंकरार नासं. ? (The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of the Avestaic Sarthoshti Din ni khol karnâri Mandli (1922), p. 44, for my paper Yt. V, 49: Yt. IX. 18. 21: Yt. XVII. 38, 42.

³ Chap. XXII 2, Justi's Bundehesh, p. 55, l. 11. Vide three pages above for the passage quoted.

between the towns of Ourmiah and Méragh, and receives in the country the name of Keboudan (کبودان). 1 Prof. Jackson says: "The early Greek Geographer Strabo mentions it under the name of Spauta (written επαύΤā in the Mss.) which is supposed to be an error for Kapauta, the Persian Kabûda, lit. 'blue, cerulean'; but since my return to America I heard two natives of Urumiah apply the name 'Spaut' to the lake, although I did not hear it so called while I was in AzerbaijanThe attribute 'cerulean' is more probably due to the color of the water, which presents a succession of blues melting into purples, mingled with ultramarine and green hues which were all the more conspicuous against a background of snowy mountains and a shore whitened with crystals of salt due to the incrustation of saline deposits." 2 So, just as the blue colour (kaboud کبود) of the water of the lake gave to the lake one of its names (Kaboudân), so the broad expanse of its water (urvyapa), gave it another name, viz., Urumiah, in which maya is the Semetic word for ap. i.e., water.

The word urvâpa or urvyâpa is variously translated. Spicegel translates it as "rich in water"; Harlez as "broadwatered" (aux eaux...larges) to Darmesteter as "of saltwaters"; Jackson as "whose water is salt; "Justi as "breitfluthig, i.e., broad-flooded; Tehmuras Anklesaria as widewatered (Aleal ullatal); Kanga as wide watered (Aleal ullatal). Darmesteter has given a note over the word in his Études Iraniennes (II. pp. 179-80), wherein he suggests the signification of salt waters (aux eaux salées). But, even in the midst of all these significations, the philological evidence stands.

¹ Maçoudi, par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. I, p. 97.

² Jackson's Persia, Past and Present, p. 74.

³ Bleeck's Translation of Spiegel, Khordeh Avesta, p. 36, Aban Yasht, 49.

⁴ Avesta, p. 419.

⁵ S. B. E. , Vol. XXIII, p. 66.

⁶ Persia, Past and Present, p. 73.

⁷ Handbuck der Zendsprache, p. 68.

⁸ Ard vigura Yasht (व्यर्विस् यशत), p. 43 (7).

⁵ Khordeh Avesta, 10th ed. (1926), p. 259. Gosh Yasht, 21.

There are several physical characteristics, attributed to the 2. Physical No. formation of both, the Chaechasta and the Urumiâh, which point to their being one and the same.

(a) The Pahlavi Bundehesh speaks of the formation of Lake Chaêchasta as the result of a great extraordinary natural phenomenon in connection with water. It speaks of this phenomenon in its chapter (Chap. VII, 14) on "The Conflict with Water (Ardab levatman maya)." It speaks, at first, of a great storm which raged for 10 nights and days and then we read:

س الما كد كويد الما الله الله الد الادورية س م ال والعجو والعجو د بهدو (مرسد به به املی کالور عن اد سر کامل د وق مه مهدام مل مهدو د भिता हिल्ला किला के क्षेत्र के किला है। त्राह नित्ति भारतन तसेल हि केन्द्रेह र दिव निवास्त्र हिंग्मास

Translation.—In the end, the wind kept back the water in the same way upto the end of the third day in different directions of land; and three great seas and twenty-three small seas arose from this (and) two reservoirs (chashma) of sea appeared out of this—one, the Lake Chaêchasta, and one, Sovbar (or Soubar), the sources of which are connected with the reservoir

Now the formation of large salt lakes like the great Lakes Caspian, Urumiah and Van, and other small lakes in, and in the vicinity of, Azerbaijan are held by physical geographers to be the result of a great natural phenomenon.

(b) The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht speaks of the waters of Lake Chaêchasta as medicinal and free from evils, i.e., disease (dar-

¹ Justi's Bundchesh, p. 17, ll. 16-18.

² Vide my Bundehesh in Gujarâti for the transliteration and translation of the passage, pp. 30-31.

man 1 av i javid shaedân (4000 80) 2 v 169)2. While travelling in Azerbaijân from Tabriz to Urumiâh, in October 1925. I heard, that people, even now, resort to the shores of the lake for medicinal baths.

There is a similar reference to the waters of the Chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are we would be supposed to the waters of the Chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are we will be supposed to the waters of the Chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are we will be supposed to the waters of the Chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are we will be supposed to the chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are we will be supposed to the chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh.

(garm maya javît bîsh âigh mandavamîch jânvar dayan la

yehvunet) 3 Here, the first word is 3 instead of 132

of the Bahman Yasht, and so, I, like Dr. West, have read the word as garm and translated it as warm (water). I think that here also the word may be darman (P. فرصاني, remedy, medicine). The waters of a large lake like the Chaêchasta may not be hot.

With reference to what the Pahlavi books say of the waters, as being javit-bish or free from disease, i.e., "having some medicinal properties," let us note here, what Morrier says of the waters of the Urumiâh, of which he speaks as "the lake of Shahee." He says: "Shahee, we hear, is inhabited, and contains twelve villages, the inhabitants of which are said to be strangers to the small-pox, and live to a good old age without the dread of it" 6

(c) The Bundehesh, in the passage, quoted just above (Chap. XXII, 2), says of the waters of Lake Chaêchasta that they are such "in which no living thing can live." (mandavamich jànvar dayan lâ yehvunet). This is true of Lake Urumiâh. Yaqout says of the water of Urumiâh, that they are "bitter and fetid and have no fish or living animals". Barpier de Meynard thus

¹ P. درمان remedy.

² Dastur Kaikobad's Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, p. 14, l. 9.

³ I have quoted and translated the passage in full in the preceding section (s. IX),

⁴ S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 85.

Morrier's Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor (1812). Vol. II, p. 287.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 288-89.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ZOROASTER renders the passage: "Son cau est amére et fétide; elle ne renferme ni poissons, ni aucine ôtro vivant." I Ibn Haukal also says that it " contains not any living creature." 2 Mag. oudi also, While speaking of the Dead Sea, refers to this fact. 227 He says: "They say that here is not in the world any other lake, Which contains neither fish nor, generally, any other living being, except the one of which we speak and another lako in Aderbaidgan on which I have sailed "3

Thus, we see that all the physical characteristics or qualities of Lake Chacchasta, referred to in the Pahlavi books, are common with what we read and know of Lake Urumiah. So, this fact also points to Chaechasta being the same as Urumiâh.

The following statement of a recent writer on Urumiân points to two of the facts, mentioned above, about the lake, viz., that (a) it is wide-watered or extensive and (b) that there is very little or almost no animal life in it. We read in the article on Urumiâh in the Encyclopædia Britannica: 4 "According to an Thank Plane of The Towns of Towns of The Towns of The Towns of The Towns of The Towns of Towns of The Towns of old tradition, Urmia was the birth-place of Zoroaster. the writer, speaking of the lake of that name near it, gives the following particulars: It is about "5000 ft. above sea-level. It is 90 miles long north and south, 30 miles broad, and 250 round, with a total area of 1600 square miles, but a mean depth of not more than 10 or 12 feet (45 in deepest part sounded by Monteith)......There are as many as fifty-six islands.....the largest 5 miles by 2.....The lake is intensely saline more so even than the Dead Sea, and is consequently inhabited by no fish or other aquatic fauna, except a peculiar species of small crustacean, which affords abundant food to numerous sman crustacean, which affords abundant food to numerous swans and other wild-fowl." Another writer of the same is in this province, as "the supposed birth-place of

There is one statement in the above passage, which, at first thought, seems to confound us. It is, that when the Avesta speaks of it as jafra (Lice P.) deep, in fact, it is not

This can be explained by saying, that the lake may be

¹ Barbier de Meynard's Dictionaire Géographique, &c., p. 85. 2 Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (1800), p. 162. 3 I translate from the French of Barbier de Meynard's Maçoudi,

⁹th Edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 12, col. 2.

⁵ Ibid, Vol. III, p. 168, col. 1.

deep in olden times, but now, by constant evaporation, not sufficiently balanced by the inflow of fresh water, it has become shallow. The writer of the above article says: "The whole lacustrine basin, including the furthest sources of its influents, has an area of about 20000 square miles, and the flooded part stood formerly at a much higher level than at present, as is shown by the water marks on the encircling heights, and by the Shahi peninsula in the north-east, which at one time was certainly an island." If this explanation is not acceptable, may I suggest another? We may take the word jafra (P. ••) in the sense of "high." The modern Persian zafra has, besides the meaning of "deep" also that of high?, and we know that the lake is about 5,000 ft. above the sea-level.

A known later Mahomedan writer distinctly identifies Chaĉchasta with Urumiâh. Hamd-Allah Mustawfi
in the Geographical part of his Nuzhat-alQulub, written in 1340 A.C., in his section
on the "Account of the Lakes in Iran" (وايراك كر دوالي آن است

) speaks of this lake under the head
Chaêchast (جيجست) 4. This very fact of his using the older
Iranian name for this lake proves the identity. He thus
describes the lake:

Translation.—The Lake Chaichast (is) in the country of Azarbâizân. They speak of it as a salt sea. The cities Urmiah

¹ Vol. XXIV, p. 12, col. 2.

² Vide ژنر in Steingass.

³ The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-Al-Qulub composed by Hamd Allâh Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740 (1340), edited by G. Le Strange (1915), p. 240, l. 11. *Vide* G. L. Strange's Translation (1919), p. 232.

⁴ Ibid, Toxt, p. 241, l. 3. Translation, p. 233.

and Ushnuyeh and the villages of Khvårqan and Taruj and Salmås are on its shores. There is an island in its midst and on that place is a mountain which is the place of the burial of the kings of the Moguls. The waters of Taghtu and Jaghtu and Såti and the river Saråv pour into it. Its circumference may be forty-four farsangs.

This passage of Mustawsi is significant. It places the modern city of Urmiah on the shore of this Chaêchasta. Again, the name of the city of Ashnuyeh (اشنویم) seems to me to be closely associated with Asnavant, the mountain in the precincts of which Zoroaster had his revelation, as seen above.

Hamd-Allah Mustawî speaks of the tombs of Moguls on lake Chaechasta. We know that, lake Urumiâh is, at times spoken of as Shâhi lake. At least, a portion of it is, even now, known as Shâhi. Prof. Jackson says: 1 "As for the modern name of the lake, the natives generally term it Dariah-i Shahi, or 'Royal sea' after the mountain peninsula of Shahi or Shah Kuh'. As to this Shah Kuh, Prof. Jackson says: 2 "A few small islands.....the surface of the lake toward the south-central part and from the middle of the eastern shore of the mountain peninsula of Shahi or Shah-kuh juts out. This tongue of land was once an island twenty-five miles in circumference, but it has become a part of the mainland, because the lake has lowered somewhat." It appears that the island is now spoken of as Shahi or royal, because, as said by Hamdala Mustawii, there lived and died on it, some Mongol or Mogul kings. 3

XIII.

(H) URUMIÂH. IN WHAT PART OF URUMIÂH WAS THE HOME OF ZOROASTER SITUATED? IN ÂMVI.

Now, having determined that the home of Zoroaster was in Urumiâh, there remains for us the last step or the last question: In what part of Urumiâh was that home? To answer that

¹ Persia, Past and Present, pp. 37-74.

² Ibid p. 73.

³ These Mongol rulers ruled in this part of the country in the 12th and 13th centuries. The ruling dynasties of this land, after the (1) Peshdadians, (2) Kayanians, and (3) Achaemenians were (4) the Maccdonian Greeks of Alexander the Great (356-323) and his successors up to B. C. 250; (5) the Parthians (250 B. C.—226 A.C.); (6) the

question, there comes to our help a Pahlavi treatise. I will now speak of that treatise and see, what is its reply to the question and what name it gives us as that of the town which was the home of Zoroaster.

Pahlavi Treatise is named Shatroiha-i Airan. helps us, not only to determine that Zoro. The Pahlavi aster belonged to Azerbaijan, but also to Shatroiba-i Airan. determine which particular town or village in Azerbaijan was the birth-place of Zoroaster. I had the pleasure of translating this treatise in English for the first time in 1899. Before publishing it, I had the pleasure of reading, in January 1898 and March 1899, two papers before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, based on this treatise. I will quote here, what I have said in the first of these two papers about this Pahlavi treatise. "Shatroiha-i Iran or Cities of Iran is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise lately published for the first time, with some other Pahlavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamapji Minocherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians." I like to repeat here, what I have said about my work of reading and translating this treatise, in my Gujarati preface of the book:

"સઘળાં વિષયામાં હું મ્બે વિષયને ઘણી આગત આપું છું. આજ સુવી ત્રગઢ કરેલાં મારાં સઘળાં પુસ્તદોમાં આ પુસ્તદને હું ઘણું વજન આપું છું" As said herein, of all my publications, published upto that time (1899), I attach great importance to the book in which the translation of this treatise was published. Out of the three treatises comprised in this book, I attach a higher value than others to this particular treatise.

Sassanians (226 A.C.—651). Then "a succession of longer or shorter-lived dynasties, like (7) the Ommiads (A.D. 661-749; (8) Abbasids (749-847); (9) Ghaznavids (961-1186); (10) Seljuks (about 1030-1200); (11) the Mongols under Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227) and under his grandson Hulagu (d. 1265), who maintained his court at Maraghah" (Jackson's Persia, p. 27.)

¹ These papers are entitled (1) "The Cities of Iran, as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airân" and (2) "The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers." These Papers are published in my Aiyâdgâr-i-zariân, Shatroihâ-i Airân and Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Sistân (Pahlavi Translations Part I).

² I may say here, that, at the time of the first selection of a scholar for the Sir James Campbell Medal, the late Mr. Jackson had included this work in his first selection of the 10 best books, from the authors of which one had to be selected for the medal.

As I have pointed out in my first paper on the subject before the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, this treatise was written at the end of the 8th century or in the ninth century. The treatise speaks of 111 cities which, with few exceptions, are grouped in large divisions. Many of the divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the Direction of" (pavan kostê).

In the division beginning with similar words 118 PHOWN (pavan kostê Âtarôpâtakân) i.e. "in the direction of Âtarópâtakân," two cities are named as Ganjak and Âmui.

I will first speak of the city of Ganjak or Ganjah (3CP)
referred to here, as the mention of this town

Ganjak. is important in connection with the question of Azerbaijan's connection with the Zoroastrian reverence for fire: This city of Ganjak is spoken of by some as Gazn. گزی or Jazn جزي. It is the city also known as Schiz (شين). We read in Yaqout: "Shiz-District of Azerbaidgan of which Moghaîrah ben Schâbah took possession by capitulation. Its real name in Persian is Djan (جزש) or Guan, of which the Arabs have made Schiz. They believe that it is the country of Zeraduscht (Zoroastre), the prophet of the adorators of fire. The chief place of this district is Ourmiah." Then Yaquot, quoting Moçer says "One observes also at Schiz a temple of fire which is for the inhabitants the object of great veneration. It feeds all the sacred fire-hearths of the Guebres of the East and the West. The dome is surmounted by a crescent of silver, considered as a talisman which several princes have tried in vain to pull away from its base. What is remarkable of this place is that the fire kindled since 700 years, leaves no ashes and is never extinguished." 2

Yaquot, on the authority of his same predecessor, Moçer, cannects with this town, in a somewhat varied or different form, the story of the Persian Magi going to see the infant Christ at Jerusalem. He speaks of a king Hormuz building a temple for this fire. He adds that, on hearing of the birth of the

¹ I give my translation from the French of Barbier de Meynard' Dictionaire Géographique de la Perse p. 367.

Ibid p. 368.

Itid p. 369.

infant (Jesus) at Jerusalem, in a village named Betlehom, this king sent to him a messenger with perfumes, oil and milk. Yaqout adds, that the messenger was given on his return a sackful of some sacred earth by Mary. The messenger, on his return journey, on coming to the place where Schiz stood, died. King, Hormuz, on hearing of this event, sent a person to find out the place where the messenger died and to erect a fire-temple there. The messenger could not trace the place, but there appeared at once from the ground a flame. He took that as the place of the death of the messenger, and built there on the Fire-temple, known latterly as the Fire-temple of Schiz.

Yaqout says on the authority of another writer, that it was at this Shiz, that "one finds Nâr-dirakhsch (نار درخشن) a Fire-temple much celebrated among the Magis and which the kings of Persia, at the time of their accession to the throne, came to visit, on foot. The people of Meraghah call this district Guezn (کزی)" 3 We thus see, that the city, known as Shiz, is the city of Ganjah spoken of in the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan as Ganjak.

We have a very interesting and valuable paper of Henry Rawlinson, entitled, "Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana," in the Journal of the Geographical Society of England (Vol. X, pp. 65-158), wherein the author connects this Ganjah or Shiz with the mountain in Azerbaijan, now known as Takht-i Suleiman. He identifies Shiz with the Cauzaca of the Greeks. This Greek name much resembles our Pahlavi name Ganjeh. The same form of letter can be read as "k",

¹ This story explains, why the Christians of Urumiâh claimtheir Church of Mat Mariam in the city to contain a tomb of one of the Magi. I had the pleasure of seeing this church, on 7th October 1925, during my visit of Urumiâh. The Bishop, Bishop Marlia, had kindly arranged to show me the church which was being repaired. According to this Bishop, Malcoi, Bagdasor, and Caspar were the three Magi who had gone to Jerusalem. Out of these three, Caspar was buried there.

² This story is a kind of version of the Iranian story, in which there appeared a sudden flash of light, when Kaikhosru was attacking a certain place in the neighbourhood. Kaikhosru put up the fire of the flame in a temple, latterly known as the temple of the sacred fire of Adar Gushasp. Compare with this version the statement of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, that Atarôpâtakân was founded by Airân Goushâsp.

³ Yaqout's "Dictionnaire Géographique, &c," par Barbier de Meynard, pp. 369-70. Barbier de Meynard adds in a foot-note that Athar-el-Bilad, giving the same passage, gives the name of the temple as Azereksch. The word nar is in Arabic means fire. So, in the name Nardirekhsh, we see an Arabic form of Azarekhsch.

and "g". He has tried to show on the authority of Moçer, the Arab writer quoted by Yaqout, of Zakariyâ and of others, that the Fire-temple of Shiz or Ganzaca or Ganjah is ascribed to Zoroaster.

I have entered into a rather long account about Ganjeh, the town of Âtarôpâtakân referred to by the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i-Airan, because it helps our consideration of the question of the next city named in the treatise after Ganjeh. Both these cities of Âtarôpâtakân are associated with the name of Zoroaster. The Pahlavi treatise associates the second town, viz., Âmui or Âmvi, directly with the name of Zoroaster. We will now consider the statement about this town.

În the description given by this treatise of the second city Âmui (I pronounce the name as I first read it), we read as follows:

Transliteration.—Shatrôstân-i Âmûi zandak-i pûr marg kard va Zartûsht-i Spitâmân min zak madinâ yehvûnt.

Translation.—The city of Âmui was founded by the sorcerer who is full of destruction (i.e., Ahriman), and Zartusht of Spitama was of that city.

Now, in this Pahlavi treatise, the phraseology for the foundation of all the cities is well-nigh the same as that given in the above quoted section. It is "Shatrôstân-i.....kard." In the intervening gap, the name of the city and the name of the founder are mentioned and here and there some interesting facts about the city or the founder are mentioned in brief. As founders of the cities, we find mostly the names of the ancient kings and other worthies of Iran. But, in the case of this city of Amui in Atarópâtakân or Azarbaizân, the founder mentioned is not any king or great personage but "zandak-i purmarg."

¹ I have referred to Rawlinson's paper in my Gujarâti paper, on the "History of the Fire temple of Azar Goushâsp." Vide my ધરાનો વિષયા ભાગ ૧ (Iranian Essays. Part I.)

² The Pahlavi Texts, edited by the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp-Asana, with an Introduction by Behramgore Tahmuras Ankleseria (1903) p. 24, s. 59. Vide My "Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Soistan, pp. 116-117.

Now what is this word zandak. In the Vendidad (Chap: XVIII, 55, 59), there is an allegorical conver-The Zandak. sation between the Yazata Sraosha, and the Druj, representing the Evil power. The Druj says that four kinds of persons make her pregnant, i.e., lead to the increase of her power. The fourth of such wrong-doing persons is one, who goes about without being properly initiated into the religious fold. Such a man is compared to "zanda yâtumenta." Here, the word yatumenta is clear. It means "magician" (from yâtu Sans. यातु Pers. اجأد). But the word Zanda is differently translated. Spiegel has translated the word as "a slayer." Harlez does not translate the word. He gives the rendering of both the words as "les Zands sectateurs des Yâtus." Haug³ translates the word as "spells." Darmesteter4 does not translate the word but uses the same word in his translation (the Yatus and Zandas), but says in the footnote: "the zanda is a hobgoblin." In his later translation⁶ also, he does not translate the word but says in a foot-note: "Zanda apôtre d'Ahriman," i.e., zanda, apostle of Ahriman. Kanga⁶ translates it as equity, i.e., terrible.

The word occurs also in the Yaona (Ha LXI 3.):

mhehoneomma mhehdinz

There also, it is variously translated:

Spiegel⁷ translates it as "wizard". Harlez uses the same word (Zands et les Yatus) ⁸. Darmesteter⁹ renders the word as "Magie" (la Magie et les magiciens). Then, in a long note (n. 8), he seems to connect the word with the later sect of the "zendiks," of whom the Yazidis are the "modern specimens."

Thus we see, that though the translators differ, it is clear, that the word "zand" is used in the sense of a bad person.

¹ Bleek's translation, p. 132 (121).

² Avosta, p. 186.

³ Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., 249.

⁴ S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1st ed., p. 199.

⁵ Zond Avesta, Tome. II, p. 251.

F Vendidad, 3rd ed., p. 295.

⁷ Bleek, Yaçna, p. 129. Spiegel's Chap. LX.

⁸ Avesta, p. 383, Chap. LX.

D Lo Zend Avesta. Vol. I, p. 384.

As to Pur-marg, the next word of the Pahlavi treatise, it is the

Pur-marg (Pouru-maharka (-) Avesta Pouru-maharka (-) i.e. "full of death, or one bringing death and destruction." It is often used with Ahriman e.g. in the Vendidâd (Chap. I, 3,5, 6, 7, 8 etc.)

Now why are other cities in the Pahlavi treatise associated with the names of some great kings and personages of Iran as founders, but not so, this city of âmui which is spoken of as having been founded by Zendak-i Purmarg i.c. by Ahriman, or, if not by Ahriman, by some evil-minded person? The reason is suggested by the account of the birth and childhood of Zoroaster as given in Pahlavi books. We learn from these books that the surroundings of the parents of Zoroaster—the surroundings of the house of his mother's parents at Rai and those of the house of his father in âzerbaijân—were of all those evil-minded persons, who had begun to harass Zoroaster's mother and father.

The phraseology of the above passage draws our special attention from the fact, that it is similar to that which we find in the Pahlavi Vendidâd, (I, 16) with respect to the city of Rae. We read

there as follows:

त्तामा मेर्ट्साल प्रकालक के प्र कार्याचा मार्कम मार्क भार कार्याच्या मार्कम मा

Translation.—(Ahura Mazda says that the twelfth of the places erected by him was) Rak of the three classes in Atarôpâtakân. There are some who call it Rai. It has three classes, three because good Açrun (Athornans), Artheshtâr

¹ The Ms. used by Dastur Hoshangji gives the name as such, but some Mss. give __w. Vide his Pahlavi Vendidåd, p. 15, and foot-note.

² One Ms. gives an additional word viz., paetak, but this is a later addition.

(Rathaeshtar) and Vactriyus are in that (place). There are some who say that Zarthust was of that place.

Thus we see that, when in the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, the phraseology is "Min zak madinâ yehvunt," that in the Pahlavi Vendidâd is "Min zak zinâk yehvunt." In one, we have madinâ (the city), and in another, zinâk (the place).

Again, the fact that the Pahlavi translator has added the word Atarôpâtakan in his translation, is significant. Rak was taken to be in Atarôpâtakan.

Then the question naturally arises: Why is it that in the Pahlavi Vendidâd the town of Rak (otherwise called Rae) in Atarópâtakân is spoken of as the place of Zoroaster, when in the Shatroiha-i-Airan, Amui in Atarópâtakân, is spoken of as such. The reply is given by what we read of Rai in the Arabic writing of Sharastâni. It says of (زرادهشت) Zaradusht عبود کان من 2

آذر بیجان وا سر من الری و اسمها دغه و

We saw above (s. XI.) that Dr. Theodor Haarbrücher has thus translated this sentence: "Sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschan, und seine Mutter, mit namem Dughdu, von Rai." 3 i. c. His father was from Azerbaijan and his mother, with the name of Dughdu, from Rac.

Thus, we see, that Zoroaster is said to be of two places viz. (1) âmui in âzerbaijân according to the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, and (a) Rak (or Rae) in âzerbaijân, according to the Pahlavi Vendidâd. He is thus associated with two places, because his father was of âmui in âzerbaijân and his mother of Rak in âzerbaijân. In the phraseology of both these books—the Shatrôihâ-i-Airân and the Vendidâd—we find no word specially speaking of birth. They merely say, that Zoroaster was of such and such a place. But in the case of âzerbaijân, we saw in our

¹ Vide for the text of the passage, Dastur Hoshangji's Vendidâd p. 15; Dastur Darabji's Pahl. Vendidâd, p. 8. Spiegel's Vendidâd p. 6, l. 1. For English transliteration and translation, vide the Vendidâd by Nowroji M. Kanga, p. 18. For Gujarâti transliteration and translation, Dastur Jamaspji's Vendidâd (p. 4 for the Text p. 6 for Translation). Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 362.

² The Text of Rev. William Cureton Ketab-ul-milal wa al-nahl. (1842) p. 185 l. 9 (Book of Religious and Philosophical Socts by Muhammad al Sharastâni, Part I.)

³ Abu'l-Fath Muhammad asch-Schahrastani's Religionspartheien und Philosophen Schulen, von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücher Erster Theil (1st Vol. 1850) p. 280.

lengthy examination of the Avesta and Pahlavi passages, that three of the writers associate the birth (zâto, temman zâd) of Zoroaster with Âtarôpâtakân.

Thus, with the help of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, we have been able to advance a step further. Before that treatise came to light in 1897, we were only in a position to determine that Zoroaster was born in Atarôpâtakân, but with its appearance, I pointed out for the first time in my paper, read before the B. B. R. Asiatic Society on 26th January 1898, that we were in a position to fix the town of Zoroaster's birth. I said at that time in my above paper -: "Amui. There is one thing mentioned by our text about this town which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this: that Zoroaster was of this city (Zartusht-i Spitaman min zak madina yehvunt). Amui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is in which part of Iran are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster?" I proceeded at that time to answer the ques tion, but I find now, that I was on the wrong track. It had been a dream of my life to visit Persia. I had thought of including Azerbaijan in that visit, and of going there from the Tchran side. Now, thanks to God, my dream has been realized. I beg to submit that my dream is more than realized, because I think my visit of Azerbaijan last year has enabled me to identify a particular village as the Amui of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan. I will speak of this visit in the next section.

XIV

A VISIT OF THE VILLAGE OF ÂMVI.

I paid a visit to Persia on my way back to India. I went to Persia from Russia, where I had been kindly invited as a guest by the Russian Academy of Sciences which celebrated its bicentenary in September 1925. The Russian Government had kindly given me all facilities to cross over to Persia. I first visited Baku and Derbend in Russian Âzerbaijân and then entered Persian Âzerbaijân via Tiflis and Julfa. I first stayed for a few days at Tabriz and from there went to Urumiâh.

Leaving Tabriz on the 5th of October 1925, and staying for the night on the way at Tasuch, I arrived at Urumiah on the night of the 6th and stayed with the Governor of the district Haji Alikhan Bahadur. I beg to take here a note of my sincere gratitude to the Hâkim Saheb for the very kind hospitality I had at his hands.

The next morning, my first question of inquiry to the Hakim was whether there was in the vicinity any town or village of the name of Âmui which, as said above in the preceding section, was mentioned in the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân as the place of Zoroaster. The Hâkim Saheb said, he knew of no place there known as Âmui. However, he said, he would make inquiries. He kindly did so, and then said, that there was no place known as Âmui, but there was one known as Âmvi. I was extremely pleased to learn this, because I at once thought, that the same word in Pahlavi and in Persian, can be read either as Âmui or Âmvi. So, I expressed a desire to go and see the village which I was told, was at a distance of about 12 miles. As there was no road, it was difficult to go there. But the Hâkim kindly arranged for my visit. He himself had never seen the place. He accompanied me. Had he not kindly done so, I would have been obliged to return disappointed, because there was no proper road, even for a cart. As he said, I was the first to take the motor there and it took the motor six hours to pass over the distance of about 12 miles. The way was, at a number of places, cut off by ab-jûis or water-courses, and the motor, more than once, stuck into the mud of these water-courses, taking. at one place, about an hour and a half to extricate it. place, the water was given another channel by filling up the former channel with stones collected on the spot, and then even, all attempts to extricate the motor failed. Fortunately there came in a Kurdish villager and the Governor sent one of his two attendants on his horse to an adjoining village. A few villagers came in with their shovels and spades and extricated the motor.

We arrived at the village of Âmvi at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It is, at present, a small village of about 25 Kurdish families. Except the tradition—and that even not generally known to all the villagers—that Zardusht was of that district, there was nothing special to point out to us, that the statement of the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Iran, viz., that Âmvi was the place

of Zoroaster, may possibly apply to this place. But there was one ruin which was pointed out to me from a distance, which undoubtedly showed that it was at one time a Zoroastrian town. That was the ruin of a Gaor-tapah گور قبی . The word Gaor is another form of gabr¹ (گبر). So, Gaur-tapah would mean the Hill of the Gabrs."2

The village is situated on a beautiful site. The mountain, situated at some distance behind, was covered with snow. There ran in the vicinity a beautiful small river which the people named Rûd-khâneh-i Tâlin رو د خانم طالیوی. This present Kurdish name of the river. We saw in the preceding sections that the river with which the abode of Zoroaster is associated in the Avesta is Darêja an affluent of the Dâitîk. If this village of Âmvi is really the place of Zoroaster—as I think it to be-referred to in the Pahlavi Shatrôiha-i-Iran it is difficult to identify Darêja with Tâlin, after the long lapse of time especially because Geographical names often change in many parts of Asia. On approaching the town, for more than a mile, we see, here and there, land covered with loose stones suggesting the ruins of a great town. The Raîs of the village, who had fortunately happened to come to Urumiâh and who had accompanied us, told me that there was a tradition prevalent there that, at one time, the village was a great town.

xv

AMUI ON A SASSANIAN COIN.

I will conclude this paper with a brief Note on a matter, to which Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat has kindly drawn my attention. It is this: The Sassanian kings marked their coins with the names of the mints where they were coined. Full names of the mint-towns were not given, but only the initial letters. But in rare cases full names were given. Mordtmann

has taken note of a coin with the mint name of AMIU ...

¹ Vide for an arrabation of the word, my paper, entitled "An Avesta Amulet for "", read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. (Journal Vol. V, No. 7, pp. 418-25. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 137-139).

² For these Gaor tappals of Azerbaijan vide my paper before the Anthropological Society of Bombay read at the Prince of Wales Museum on the 4th August 1926.

Vide Jackson's "Persia Past and Present", p. 91, for an account oft Gaur-tapah which he also names "ash-hills" (Vide Ibid, pp. 90-98).

It is a coin of the 5th year of Khusrau 7. It is the first coin in his list of the "Zwiter Typus". Mordtmann has not read the legend of the coin.1

Mr. J. De Morgan, in his article on the Sassanian Mints refers to this coin. He gives the letters as IUMA reading the name in the usual Pahlavi way from right to left.² He says:

سهرد ۵

IUMA UIMA.

Cet induice est cité par le Dr. Mordtmann qui n'en propose par de lecture, peut-être Amui مرى Amol sur l'Oxus."

This âmui seems to be this town of âmui near Urumiâh and not Amol on the Oxus.

Mr. Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck has referred to this coin in his "Sassanian Coins" (p. 136). This is a coin of the 5th year of the reign of Khusro I and the name of the mint town as suggested by De Morgan (op. cit.) is Âmui

Now seven other coins with the mint town letters 4- have

been found and that name is taken to be that of Amol in Tabaristan.³ So, it seems that it is likely that the four letters AMIU or AMUI in the above single-known coin of Khusro I were specially intended to distinguish the mint name Âmui from the mint town

name of Amol signified by the letter AM & on other coins.

One may infer from this fact, that the coin may have been struck at the above village of Âmui or Amvi in Āzerbaijān which, though now a small Kurdish village, may have been, as it appears, from the surrounding debris of stones and as traditionally believed, at one time, a big town, a town with a royal mint.

¹ Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft for 1830. Vol. 34, p. 116, l. 17.

² "Contribution a l' Atude des Ateliers monétaires sous la Dynastie des Rois Sassanides de Perse (Revue Numismatique for 1913, p. 168, S. 8, No. 17).

^{3 &}quot;Sassanian Coins" by Paruck p. 135.

Of course, this fact, viz., that there existed a mint in the town of Âmui or Amvi, if accepted, does not supply any further proof of this town Âmui being a place of Zoroaster, but it leads us to infer, that the town associated with the name of Zoroaster as his place or birth-town, had grown into importance, possibly, among other reasons, by the fact that it was associated with the life and teachings of Zoroaster.

I do not like to complete this paper without mentioning a few honoured names of persons who had helped me in my travels in Azerbaijân. The Russian Academy of Sciences, which had kindly invited me, with more than hundred scholars from various countries of Europe, America and Asia, as its guest, at its bi-centenary celebrations, had, with its Government, besides making my visit of Russia itself interesting and instructive, helped me very much in my travels towards the frontiers of Persia. I beg to thank the Academy and the Government for all this help.

Then on coming to my fatherland of Iran, the Airyana (Vaeja) of my Zoroastrian Mazdayacnan ancestors, I was helped in my travels by all the Persian authorities. I beg to tender my humble tribute of respect and my most respectful gratitude to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, who was then, at the time of my entry into Persia, still the Prime Minister of Persia. At the request of Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrukh, to whom I tender my best thanks for all his kindness during my travels in Persia, His Majesty was pleased to direct that H. E. Mahomed Husein Khan, the Farman-deh of Azerbaijan and Mirza Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Tabriz, may kindly give me all necessary I beg to tender my best thanks to these high officials. I also beg to thank Yavar Abdul Husein Khan Tabatabai, the rais of the city of Tabriz for the very kind hospitality of his house that he extended to me during my stay at Tabriz. H. E. the Farman-deh, in his turn gave me a general letter of Introduction to all Government officials on the way and a special letter upon the Hakim of Urumiâh, Haji Alikhan Bahadur who kindly gave me the hospitality of his house. I cannot sufficiently thank all these high officials for all the help they kindly gave to me. I note with pleasure, that all these favours were due to Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrukh, whom the Persian community of Iran is glad to see, taking a prominent part in the affairs of the uplift of Persia.

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